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ART. I.—*The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth.* By the Honourable George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich. In three volumes. 8vo. London: John Murray.

POLITICAL biography is amongst the most attractive species of composition. It partakes somewhat of the character of history reduced to the dimensions of individual life, and shares, therefore, in the interest which attaches to both kinds of writing. Admitting behind the scenes it enables us to analyze the character of public men, to trace their measures to the contingencies out of which they sprung, to detect the motives by which they were prompted, and to render justice, both in praise and censure, to the men whose names float on the traditions of our country. All men are curious to know something of their rulers. Their character, habits, connexions, party contests, and measures, are canvassed in every variety of mode; and he who, on these points, can contribute the authentic information to his circle, is sure to be regarded with deference. We are perpetually striving to draw aside the veil behind which our statesmen are concealed, to picture to ourselves the intrigues of the low-minded, the cabals of the unprincipled, or the lofty and dignified views of the illustrious few who are faithful to their vocation, equal to its requirements, and earnestly intent on the discharge of duty. The anecdotes daily retailed are exemplifications of this universal tendency, and bespeak the curiosity rather than the knowledge of their reporters. The readiness with which they are entertained, and the zeal which marks their repetition, is a characteristic of the popular mind not to be

overlooked in any estimate we would form of their probable truth. We are too much concerned to know, or at least to appear to know, something respecting the men and the measures about which we daily talk, to be very exact in the evidence required, or punctilious in the credence we yield. A large proportion, therefore, of the political anecdotes afloat is either wholly false, or grossly exaggerated. Men's general views materially influence their faith, and furnish numerous illustrations analogous to the fable of the three black crows. The indulgence of this propensity is not limited to any one class. It may be traced throughout the community, and, with various modifications, is to be detected amongst the higher and more intelligent, as well as the lower and least informed. The position of each party determines the measure of improbability which is admitted. What is readily credited by those who are farthest from the fountain of information, is instantly rejected by such as are nearest to it. The credulity of the one class is despised by the other, but this in its turn is equally the victim of a universal and omnipotent propensity. It is impossible to look back to the journals of any period, even those of the highest character and best information, without perceiving evidences of this fact; and when these journals are tested by the more accredited statements of authentic biography, such fact becomes too glaring to admit of doubt.

But there is a higher purpose to be answered by political biography than that which consists in the sifting of traditional anecdotes. It opens up grave questions, reveals the genuine character of the political idols whom we worship, and enables us more accurately to estimate the wisdom and patriotism of the measures pursued. It is a mortifying reflection, that the verdict it commands from an impartial jury is generally unfavourable. This is not unnatural, but it is mortifying to our pride, and deeply wounds the kinder sensibilities of our nature. There is a false gloss thrown over the lives and policy of our statesmen during their continuance in power. To say nothing of the reluctance felt to admit the intervention of what is little, mean, and corrupt, in our national councils; too many are interested in the popularity of a Minister, to render them impartial judges of his policy. Dependent on his favour, they become unwittingly his panegyrists, and the virtues which their servility or party attachment attributes to him, pass current for the day, and are reported to their successors. But the case is very different when power has ceased, and perhaps death intervened to prevent the possibility of its recurrence. A stern court is then constituted before which the deceased statesman is summoned to appear.



Few men can pass through such an ordeal unscathed. The appeal to posterity is frequently answered, if not by a reversal, yet by a serious modification, of the judgment of their own generation. When weighed in the balance of truth, their wisdom, or their integrity is brought into doubt, and the undue panegyric of one age is not unfrequently balanced by the equally excessive censure of another. In some cases, unhappily rare, the reverse of this happens. As the philosopher and the poet often rise in the estimation of mankind as they are viewed from a distance, apart from individual peculiarities and the detractions of envious contemporaries, so the statesman occasionally emerges from the thick mists which had surrounded him during his earthly career, and takes rank amongst the accredited expounders of human rights and of political sagacity. A notable instance of this is furnished in the case of the lord-protector Cromwell, whose reputation has at length been nobly vindicated by the simple expedient of putting on record the entire collection of his Letters and Speeches. A prouder monument was never reared to the memory of man than that which has been raised by the laborious research and painstaking of Mr. Carlyle.

‘How does the lustre of our father’s actions,  
Through the dark cloud of ills that cover him,  
Break out, and burn with more triumphant brightness!  
His sufferings shine, and spread a glory round him;  
——He fights the cause!  
Of Honour, Virtue, Liberty, and Rome.’

In order, however, that political biography should accomplish its end, it must be written with impartiality and discrimination, must evidence thorough knowledge of the matters detailed, and be obviously imbued with the living spirit of truth. There are many nice questions pertaining to it, on which it is by no means easy to lay down general rules. Amongst these the most important are the relation in which the biographer should stand to his hero, and the contiguity, in point of time, which may be admitted. Various opinions have been expressed on these points, and no one of them is free from objection. We must be content with a choice of evils. Unalloyed good is not attainable, and we are willing, therefore, to receive the fuller information which a relative and contemporary can furnish, though at some risk of the likeness being affected by the kindly dispositions of the artist. The tendency is obvious and may be guarded against, whilst the information furnished may not be otherwise attainable. Let the latter be supplied, and we are in a condition to correct whatever want of proportion there may be in the colours of the former.

The volumes now before us are written by the son-in-law of Lord Sidmouth, and the author will deem it no reflection, if we remark, that the effect of his relationship is obvious throughout the work. It appears, however, in its least exceptionable form, being seen in the uniformly favourable judgment pronounced on the opinions and proceedings of his lordship, rather than in detraction of his opponents, or misrepresentation of their motives. Dean Pellew is evidently an amiable and candid man, constitutionally inclined to look at the better side of human nature, and free from the bitterness and chagrin of many political writers. He would rather praise than blame, and though the colouring of his portrait is too bright, we forgive his partiality, and receive with thankfulness the information he supplies. From his judgments on men and measures we frequently dissent; in a few instances—the number is very limited—we detect a not unnatural feeling against some of the contemporaries of Lord Sidmouth, and in others we see the effect of conventional morality and of class prejudice. The leading defect of the work, apart from its occasional feebleness and prolixity, is the want of an independent and high standard of political faith. The opinions expressed are those of a class, modified by the mild and amiable disposition of the author. He never ventures on untrodden ground, seldom questions the propriety of what is current, occasionally hesitates to censure, even where his professional character would seem to demand severity of judgment, and is content to narrate his facts without reference to those general laws which enable us to test their sagacity and usefulness. His course is that of a timid and inexperienced mariner, who mistrusting himself keeps his eye fixed on the headlands of the coast. He never steers boldly out to sea, but keeping some friendly port in sight, is prompt to seek its shelter whenever the heavens grow dark, and the waters begin to swell. So far respecting the biographer; we now turn to his narrative.

Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth, was born on the 30th of May, 1757, in Bedford Row, London. He was the eldest son of Dr. Addington an eminent physician, who enjoyed the intimacy and friendship of the Earl of Chatham. At five years of age he was placed under the care of the Rev. William Gilpin, then resident at Cheam, in Surrey, who, two years afterwards, December 12th, 1764, reported to his father, 'Harry is a genius; and I may add, he takes the license of a genius—he trusts more to his parts than his industry. He is generally an idle boy; and yet he generally has his lessons as well as any, often the best of his class, though he is raised amongst boys who are his seniors much in point of years; and what is very

surprising, he is exceedingly retentive of what he appears to get merely by intuition.'

In his twelfth year he was removed to Winchester school, of which Dr. Joseph Warton was head master, where he enjoyed the oversight and friendly culture of George Isaac Huntingford, whom he was subsequently instrumental in raising to the see of Hereford. That his school intimacies were well founded, 'is evident,' remarks Dean Pellew 'from the fact, that in every instance they endured for life!' In May, 1773, he was removed from Winchester, 'for reasons which do not appear,' and was placed under the tuition of Dr. Goodenough, at Ealing, whence he removed to Brasenose College, Oxford, in October 1774. His proficiency in classical literature was highly respectable, and his general habits honourably exempt from the vices then current amongst the young men of his class. His collegiate life did not, probably, add much to his attainments. His allusions to the university are not, at any rate, adapted to raise our estimate of the advantages it proffered, and serve to confirm the view given by other witnesses. In one of his earliest letters he informs his father that he 'was under no anxiety on account of the disputations, as he was credibly informed, they were mere farces,'—an opinion strikingly coincident with that of Lord Eldon, who is reported by Mr. Twiss to have remarked respecting a period four years earlier, 'An examination for a degree at Oxford, was a farce in my time.\*' During his residence at the university, he formed the acquaintance of Lords Wellesley, Stowell, and Colchester, from whom he derived considerable advantage as well as happiness in future life. His acquaintance with Lord Stowell, then William Scott,

'Commenced in the Oxford stage coach, in 1777, when one was an under graduate at Brasenose, the other fellow and tutor of the university. They stopped to dine at Maidenhead bridge, on pork chops, and drank a bottle of port; after which, they chatted very familiarly for the rest of the way, Addington commenting with great freedom on the demerits of college fellows, whilst his companion insidiously encouraged him. When at length the coach stopped at University College, Scott, standing on the step as he alighted, said, 'Well, young gentleman, I have had a very pleasant journey; but the next time you feel inclined to abuse college fellows, consider that you may possibly have a poor college fellow in the coach with you. Good evening.' The next day the college fellow called upon the under graduate.'—Vol. i. p. 21.

Addington's early destination was the bar, to which he seriously applied himself about 1780. He was speedily, however,

• 'Life of Lord Eldon,' vol. i. p. 57.



diverted from this pursuit, by the more brilliant prospects of political life. We have already adverted to the intimacy which subsisted between his father and the Earl of Chatham, and it is, therefore no marvel that their sons, the subject of this memoir, and William Pitt, the favourite minister of George III. should be early found in friendly and official conjunction. 'They had been friends,' as the latter told Mr. Wilberforce, 'from their childhood, and their fathers before them.' Mr. Pitt, though two years younger than Addington, became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1782, under the Shelburne administration, and First Lord of the Treasury in 1784. This promotion opened the way to Addington's accession to political life, and so early as December, 1783, an interview took place between them which awakened the expectations of the friends of the latter. 'I give you joy,' said one of his correspondents, 'of the effects of the interview of last Sunday, of which I am impatient to hear the particulars.' He was speedily elected for Devizes, then a close borough, under the controul of his brother-in-law, Mr. Sutton, but took no part for some time in the debates of the house. His attention was wisely directed to its forms of procedure, and and on committees he was a diligent attendant. Considering his subsequent elevation, it appears singular, that he addressed the house only three times prior to his election to the speakership, once in seconding the address in January, 1786, once in the following year on a horse-tax, and again in 1788, on the Regency question. In this respect he differed widely from another young member of whom frequent mention is made in his correspondence. The subsequent career of Earl Grey gives peculiar interest to the following brief reference to his first parliamentary effort. The letter is dated Feb. 22nd, 1787 :—

'We had a glorious debate, last night, upon the motion for an address of thanks to the king for having negotiated the commercial treaty. I was not in bed till three o'clock, which to a committee man is rather an unseasonable hour. A new speaker presented himself to the House, and went through his first performance with an eclat which has not been equalled within my recollection. His name is Grey. He is not more than twenty-two years of age, and he took his seat, which is for Northumberland, only in the present session. I do not go too far in declaring that in the advantages of figure, voice, elocution, and manner, he is not surpassed by any one member of the House; and I grieve to say that he was last night in the ranks of opposition, from whence there is no prospect of his being detached.'—*Ib.* p. 45.

Some bystanders, regarding simply Mr. Addington's intimacy with the premier, were surprised at his not having received an early official appointment, but the case was different with him-

self. 'I am still,' he remarks in 1787, 'in a state of uncertainty, though by no means a disagreeable one, as I guess the *quid*, and hope soon to say something to you respecting the *quando*.' His views at this time, do not appear to have been directed to the speakership. Indeed no sagacity could foresee the changes which approached. It is seldom, perhaps, that human foresight was so completely at fault, as in the events referred to in the following brief extract:—

'In August, 1788, Lord Grenville passed a month with me at Lyme, in conformity with a wish he had expressed to that effect. One day we visited Lord Rolle at Bicton, and were speculating on the probable successor to the then Speaker, Cornwall; giving it as our opinion that we neither of us had any chance, and that Mr. Edward Phelips, of Montacute, would be the most eligible person. Within twelve months we were both speakers ourselves.'—*Ib.* p. 56.

On the fifth of June, 1789, Mr. Grenville vacated the speakership on his appointment as Secretary of State for the Home Department, and three days after, Mr. Addington was elected on a division of two hundred and fifteen to one hundred and fifty-two. His persevering attention to the business of the house, and his conciliatory manner, had rendered him a general favourite, and would probably have prevented a division, had not the party tactics of the day required the supporters of the *Coalition* to record their votes for Sir Gilbert Elliott. 'We were all very sorry to vote against you,' was Sheridan's remark to him on his taking the chair. 'It redounds,' says his biographer, 'equally to the credit of all parties, that the cordiality with which he was hailed, and the approbation he received from one side of the house, was quickly re-echoed from the other; insomuch, that although Addington was Mr. Pitt's intimate friend, and was known to be living in close intercourse with him, during the whole time he continued Speaker, still, as he used to declare, this made no difference in the conduct of the opposition towards him. Mr. Sheridan's remark on his election has already been related, and the treatment which he received from Messrs. Fox, Burke, Windham, Grey, Sir Gilbert Elliott, his late opponent, and other party leaders, was invariably of the same respectful and friendly character.'

Substantial proof of the kindly feeling of the house was furnished in a debate which subsequently occurred on the Speaker's salary, when it was proposed to substitute a fixed sum of £5000 a-year for the precarious fees formerly received. This was assented to with acclamation, and a motion that £6,000 should be inserted in the vote, instead of £5,000, was carried by an overwhelming majority, only twenty-eight 'particular friends'

voting against it. There was something farcical in this procedure, as the decision was well known, and the vote of the minority unquestionably would not have been given had it been expected to influence the result. It was a mere sham, an affectation of public virtue which tends to weaken confidence in the integrity of parliamentary proceedings.

The French Revolution was at this time in progress, and numerous allusions occur throughout Mr. Addington's correspondence to the schism that was preparing in the Whig party. In the autumn of 1789, 'The Reflections on the French Revolution' were published,—an extraordinary work, in which passion and political foresight, the terrors of an alarmist, and the profound sagacity of the most philosophical statesman of the day, were strangely blended. The minister readily availed himself of its aid, though he continued for some time impervious to its fears, as the following extract shews :—

'Nearly two years afterwards, Mr. Pitt, of whom Addington used to say, he was the most sanguine man he ever knew, was still unconvinced of the magnitude of the danger from that cause : an assertion which the following anecdote will elucidate. In September, 1791, after Burke's breach with Fox, Pitt invited him for the first time to dine with him : Lord Grenville, Burke, Addington, and Pitt, constituted the party. After dinner Burke was earnestly representing the danger which threatened this country, from the contagion of French principles, when Pitt said, 'Never fear, Mr. Burke : depend on it we shall go on as we are until the day of judgment.' 'Very likely, sir,' replied Mr. Burke, 'it is the day of *no* judgment that I am afraid of.'—*Ib.* p. 72.

The following anecdote pertaining to this period, is too characteristic of a man who obtained temporary notoriety by a rare conjunction of personal vices with the folly of opponents, to be omitted :—

'On the 28th of May, in this year, it became the Speaker's duty publicly to reprimand Major Scott, a member of parliament, for having published a statement relating to the trial of Mr. Hastings, which was considered disrespectful to the House. Before the public business commenced, the Speaker had observed Mr. Wilkes conferring with Major Scott ; and he subsequently ascertained from a friend, who happened to be within hearing, that the subject of their conversation was as follows :—Wilkes. 'I give you joy. I am glad to see you in full dress. It is an occasion on which a man should appear to the best advantage.' Scott. 'Joy ! what do you mean ? Why I am here to be reprimanded.' Wilkes. 'Exactly ; and therefore I congratulate you. When the Speaker has finished, abuse them all confoundedly, for which you will be sent either to Newgate or the Tower, and then you may be member for Middlesex or Westminster,



whichever you please.' Mr. Adolphus, in his *History of England*, vol. vi. p. 164, bestows much commendation on the Speaker's address to Major Scott on this occasion. At some other time, Mr. Wilkes came up to the Speaker in the chair, and told him that he had a petition to present to the House from a set of the greatest scoundrels and miscreants upon earth: when called upon, however, shortly afterwards, to present it, he said, with the gravest face possible,—'Sir, I hold in my hand a petition from a most intelligent, independent, and enlightened body of men.' On another occasion, when there was much confusion in the House, the Speaker observing that his call of 'Order, order!' was not attended to, especially by Mr. Wilkes, repeated the expression, coupling with it that gentleman's name; upon which Mr. Wilkes said very deliberately, 'Order! Mr. Wilkes?' that is a singular association. Wilkes and treason, and Wilkes and rebellion, have often been coupled together; but, Wilkes and order never.'—*Ib.* p. 76.

We are tempted, by way of contrast, to transcribe another anecdote of the Speaker's, in which the public services of the party concerned gave grace and dignity to his momentary failure. It is thus related by our author:—

'This mention of the action of the 1st of June recalls to memory one of Lord Sidmouth's favourite anecdotes relating to that event. All the actors in the glorious achievement deserved, and of course received, the thanks of parliament for their conduct. Vice-Admiral Sir Alan, afterwards Lord Gardner, a man of undaunted bravery, but of a remarkably sensitive and retiring temperament, being at the time member for Plymouth, was, according to custom, to receive through the Speaker the honour of the thanks of the House, in his place in parliament. On the appointed day, before the commencement of business, he entered the Speaker's private room in great agitation, and expressed his apprehensions that he should fail in properly acknowledging the honour which he was about to receive. 'I have often been at the cannon's mouth,' he said, 'but hang me if I ever felt as I do now! I have not slept these three nights, Look at my tongue.' The Speaker rang for a bottle of Madeira, and Sir Alan took a glass. After a short pause he took a second, and then said he felt somewhat better; but when the moment of trial arrived, and one of the bravest of a gallant profession, whom no personal danger could appal, rose to reply to the Speaker, he could scarcely articulate. He was encouraged by enthusiastic cheers from all parts of the House; but after stammering out with far more than the usual amount of truth, that 'he was overpowered by the honour that had been conferred upon him,' and vainly attempting to add a few more words, he relinquished the idea as hopeless, and abruptly resumed his seat amidst a renewed burst of cheers.'—*Ib.* p. 118.

The following is important, as bearing on the character of a man whose policy exerted a more disastrous influence than that

of any other British minister in modern times. Of the ability of Mr. Pitt, there can be no doubt. His intellect was worthy of his parentage, his disposition was imperious, and his will unbending. Having sacrificed his early faith, he persecuted its disciples with unrelenting bitterness. Popular liberty, whether in England or on the continent, was his abhorrence, and he sought its extinction with an acrimony which betokened that the rancour of the apostate had been carried into the councils of the minister. The imperial character of his mind only strengthened his power for evil. Cold and baughty in public, he won the ardent attachment of friends in his unbending hours, and was thought by Lord Sidmouth 'the most fascinating companion he ever met with.' His information was prodigious, and his resources infinite. But the wear and tear of his life was too much for him, and he resorted to the ruinous expedient by which feeblers frequently seek to stimulate their powers. We should have expected some expression of regret, if not of displeasure, in the following notice of this habit. It would have befitted the clerical profession of the author, however unsuited to the disciple of Toryism:—

'Such intellectual powers, enclosed in so feeble a casket, must, it would be supposed, have required some description of artificial support; and accordingly Mr. Pitt did resort to the stimulant of wine, sometimes, as was reported, to an extent not altogether consistent with prudence and moderation. On this being remarked to Lord Sidmouth, he observed, that 'Mr. Pitt liked a glass of port wine very well, and a bottle still better; but that he had never known him take too much if he had any thing to do, except upon one occasion, when he was unexpectedly called up to answer a personal attack made upon him by the father of the late Lord Durham. He had left the House with Mr. Dundas in the hour between two election ballots, for the purpose of dining; and when, on his return, he replied to Mr. Lambton, it was evident to his friends that he had taken too much wine. The next morning Mr. Ley, the Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, told the Speaker, that he had felt quite ill ever since Mr. Pitt's exhibition on the preceding evening: 'It gave me,' he added, 'a violent head-ache.' On this being repeated to Mr. Pitt, he said he thought it was an excellent arrangement, that *he* should have the wine, and the clerk the head-ache.'

'During the sitting of parliament, Pitt, after the debate, used generally to sup with the Speaker, at the house of the latter, sometimes *tête-à-tête*, but more frequently with one or two other friends. On those occasions the Speaker, when he thought wine enough had been drank, was wont to say, 'Now, Pitt, you shall not have another drop.' But Mr. Pitt generally became importunate, promising that if a fresh bottle were brought he would only take one glass. His eloquence sometimes prevailed, and the ayes had it:

but Lord Sidmouth confessed that when this was the case, the promise of abstinence was seldom long remembered.'—*Ib.* p. 152.

A similar omission occurs in the account given of Mr. Pitt's duel with Mr. Tierney, on account of words spoken by the former in a debate on the 25th of May, 1798. Such an event ought not to have been passed over with the slight censure which is implied, rather than expressed. It afforded an opportunity, of which advantage should have been taken, to record a high-toned and generous protest against so barbarous a practice. The moralist owed it to himself and to his country to reprobate the evil, whatever sanction it may derive from the fashion and false morality of a class.

Hitherto the Speaker and Mr. Pitt had been on terms of the closest and most attached intimacy. Their political union was cemented by private friendship. Their opinions were identical, and the master-spirit of the premier gave firmness and confidence to his ally. To the overtaxed energies of Pitt, the friendship of Addington brought relief, whilst his conciliatory manners and general popularity in the house, softened the asperities of debate, and facilitated the minister's parliamentary triumphs. The seeds of alienation, however, were now sown, and they speedily brought forth their accustomed fruit. This arose from the agitation of the catholic claims, on which Mr. Pitt's views were conciliatory, and those of Mr. Addington the reverse. The former proposed to accomplish the Irish Union by means of the catholics, and after it had been effected, he proposed, as a return for their services, and a means of uniting all classes, to remove the disabilities under which they laboured. To this righteous measure the king objected. Incapable of appreciating the arguments which enforced it, his constitutional stubbornness took the shape of conscientious scruple. We do not question the honesty of the monarch. He was perfectly sincere; but his integrity was unreflecting and one-sided, an illustration of the worst characteristic of his countrymen. He respected his coronation oath, and, according to his perverse interpretation, would keep it to the letter; but he had no sense of what was due to the consciences of others, nor could he apprehend the wrong done to religion when civil penalties were employed for its support. 'I had rather,' were his words,—and we respect his integrity, whilst we regret his error—'beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe, than consent to any such measure.' Dean Pellew has not thrown much additional light on the progress of this critical affair, as the correspondence which it occasioned between the king and Mr. Pitt, on the one hand, and the king and Mr.



Addington, on the other, was previously in the hands of the public. To those, however, who are not familiar with the transaction, the dean's narrative will be interesting and valuable. Having received intimation of what his Ministers contemplated, the Monarch, under date of January 29th, 1801, solicited the Speaker's friendly offices to 'open Mr. Pitt's eyes on the danger arising from the agitating this improper question, which,' added the monarch, 'may prevent his ever speaking to me on a subject on which I can scarcely keep my temper.' Mr. Addington, at first, entertained hope of success, but was soon convinced of his error, and two days afterwards was desired to undertake the conduct of affairs. On earnestly requesting to be excused, the king emphatically remarked, 'Lay your hand upon your heart, and ask yourself, where am I to turn for support, if you do not stand by me?' Mr. Pitt urgently entreated him to comply with the royal wishes. 'I see nothing but ruin, Addington, if you hesitate,' was his remark; and the latter consequently, on the 5th of February, undertook the service to which he was invited. On the whole affair, it is obvious to remark that the scruples of the monarch were too deeply fixed to allow of any other result. He would not reason, nay, he would scarcely talk on the subject. It was a settled point, which did not admit of being re-argued. 'None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas,' said the king, when the former called attention to the distinction between the legislative and executive functions of the crown; and his whole course was equally irrational and self-willed. We can scarcely do justice to the monarch without impugning the integrity of his intellect. His judgment had been clouded, and the visitation subsequently recurred. His sincerity is proved by the general tenour of his life, and the most charitable conclusion, therefore, we can form, is that which accounts for his scruples, in part at least, by the malady under which he had suffered.

Mr. Pitt, probably, was not disinclined to avail himself of any plausible excuse for retiring at this juncture from the royal councils. We cannot attribute very much earnestness to his convictions on the catholic question, as he almost immediately contemplated a resumption of office, and actually did return to it in 1804, without any stipulation in its favour. How this could be, if his views were sincere, we know not. Admit them to have been so in 1801, and he must subsequently have discarded them, or have sacrificed to the love of power, or the pleasure of his master, what he deemed essential to the harmony and well-being of the empire. His conduct, however, is susceptible of explanation on other grounds. His continental policy had proved a splendid failure. France was in the ascendant

throughout Europe, and discontent was universal in England. The nation was wearied of an exhausting and disgraceful war, in which the blood and treasures of Britain were expended on behalf of allies who were either treacherous or imbecile. Mr. Pitt's crusade against France had utterly failed. He himself, and all others, felt this. The constitution of the House enabled him still to command a parliamentary majority; but thoughtful men, of all classes and kinds, were asking themselves where this was to end. What had been commenced in confidence was carried on in despair. France had maintained the integrity of her domains—had succeeded in giving laws to a considerable part of Europe, and now threatened to turn back the tide of invasion on ourselves. Austria was entirely prostrate, Prussia had become actively hostile, and the three northern powers, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, had entered into a confederacy against our maritime rights. All classes, therefore, felt the necessity for peace, and began to clamour for it; yet Mr. Pitt might well shrink from a negotiation which reflected so severely on his own policy. This we believe to have been the real secret of his resignation. 'The pilot who weathered the storm,' as he has been absurdly designated by the unreflecting herd of Tories, was glad to shelter himself for a time, whilst another took the helm, and essayed to bring the vessel into harbour. Mr. Pitt's subsequent conduct harmonizes with this supposition, and not unnaturally grew out of it, whilst any other theory fastens on him a charge of moral delinquency, which we hesitate to prefer. Mr. Pitt's health also had suffered. In October preceding his resignation, he visited the Speaker at Woodley, and the following extract from a letter of the latter to his brother, dated October 19th, is not unimportant:—

'Pitt is now here. It is to me most gratifying that his wishes anticipated mine, and led him to think of Woodley before I proposed it to him. It is, of course, desirable that his indisposition should not be talked of. He is certainly better, but I am still very far from being at ease about him. Sir W. Farquhar is to be here on Tuesday, and it will then be determined whether he is to remain here or proceed to Bath or Cheltenham. My opinion and wishes incline the same way. He wants rest and consolation, and I trust he will find both here. The feelings towards him, not of myself, for of those I say nothing, but of others under this roof, are really not to be described.'—*Ib.* p. 266.

All things considered, retirement was the most prudent, though certainly not the most magnanimous, course, which Mr. Pitt could adopt. We admire his adroitness, but mark the absence from his policy of higher and nobler elements of character. Mr. Addington was encouraged to undertake the

difficult task assigned him by his friend's promise of support. 'Mr. Pitt has resigned,' said Mr. Canning to a correspondent, 'on finding himself not allowed to carry into effect his own wishes and promises, and the views of the Irish government, respecting the catholic question. The king has accepted his resignation, and a new government is forming, in which Mr. Pitt earnestly presses all those of his own friends who are now in office to take part, and to which he intends personally to give the most decided and active support in parliament.' There is no reason to believe that this support was not honestly designed, though Mr. Canning, and some other members of the late government, declined to serve under Mr. Addington. They probably felt—Mr. Canning certainly was warranted to do so—their immense superiority to the new premier, and did not place much faith in the continuance of his power. The usual result, however, followed in due course. It might have been predicted; it could not fail to be foreseen. It could scarcely be otherwise in the condition and circumstances of our nature. The following passage points out some of the many causes of alienation which speedily began to operate. Speaking of Mr. Addington, Dean Pellew remarks,—

'To such a man the appeal from his sovereign, seconded as it was by the opinion of *him* with whom for eighteen years he had felt and thought, as it were, with the same mind, was irresistible. He did not, however, make this concession to the stern obligation of duty, without clearly foreseeing the sacrifices which it imposed upon him: nevertheless, there was one sacrifice which he did not contemplate. Prepared as he was for the usual evils attendant on the situation he had accepted, he had *not* calculated on the possible loss of his friend. When he yielded to the commands of the king and the wishes of Mr. Pitt, he expressly stipulated for the support and co-operation of the latter; and he probably expected that it might still be possible for Mr. Pitt and himself to maintain the confidential communications which had hitherto subsisted between them, after their respective positions, as regarded each other, had been reversed. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that Mr. Pitt made the offer of his best assistance and advice with the same sincerity with which it was accepted; and he, too, probably looked forward to a continuance of those constant and cordial interviews at which, without distrust or interruption, they had been wont to 'take sweet counsel together.' If, however, the two friends were influenced by such feelings, it appears that they had not fully weighed the results to be expected from this change in their circumstances. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had been intimate from their youth; and when the high opinion and personal attachment of the former had placed the latter in the chair of the House, a situation removed from the strife and fluctuations of politics, it would have been strange, indeed, if the intimacy



previously subsisting between them could not have been continued. The case, however, became very different when the position of the parties was reversed. Mr. Pitt could not descend at once from his high position, and be regarded quite like another man. How much soever he might have desired to do so, neither the rules of society, nor the restraints of party, would have permitted him. Attention would naturally be directed to his words and movements. Whenever the policy pursued by himself and his successor happened to differ, their conduct and merits would be contrasted. Whenever their measures agreed, it would be said of him, as it had before been said of Lord Bute, that he was still the minister, and his successor only the puppet. Each of them also would be surrounded by his own friends and dependents; and as the followers of one succeeded those of the other in the enjoyment of their offices, it was not reasonable to expect much cordiality to prevail between men so situated. No one, without political experience, can conceive how clamorous the junior members of a party are for place and power, and how impossible it is for any leader long to retain this class of supporters in a proper state of unity and discipline, without encouraging some hope, at least, that their taste in that respect may be gratified at no distant period.'—*Ib.* p. 331—333.

Mr. Pitt, it is not improbable, certainly some of his most intimate political associates, speedily regretted the step he had taken, and an abortive negotiation, having in view his return to power, took place between them and Mr. Addington. The failure of this negotiation need not surprise us. The new premier owed it to himself to decline the terms which were proposed. For a time things wore a promising appearance. The military sympathies of the nation were revived by the success which attended the disgraceful bombardment of Copenhagen, and the triumphant course of the British forces in Egypt; but the evil hour could not long be staved off. Great offence was given to Mr. Pitt by some expressions of Mr. Tierney, which were not, as he conceived, replied to with sufficient spirit by the premier. An explanation followed, and satisfaction was expressed; but the confidence of friendship was gone, and there were not wanting those who sought to widen the breach. The alienation became growingly visible towards the close of 1802, when Mr. Pitt availed himself of a journey to Bath, to excuse his attendance at the House. 'A peculiar gloom,' says our author, 'overhangs this journey, since it was during his present visit to Bath that Mr. Pitt appears to have first adopted that view of public affairs which alienated him from the policy and party of his friend and successor, and placed him eventually in the ranks of opposition, by the side of his great rival and constant opponent, Mr. Fox.' This state of things involved the minister in considerable difficulties. Mr. Pitt's support was

essential, and when this became precarious, negotiations were opened for his return to office under his brother, the Earl of Chatham. This was, of course, declined; and the fact of its having been suggested by Mr. Addington, reflects no credit on his sagacity. 'There was no room,' said Lord Melville, through whom the overture was made, 'for any discussion on that part of the subject; for he stated at once, without reserve or affectation, his feelings with regard to any proposition founded on such a basis.' Mr. Pitt would hear of nothing but of the unconditional surrender of the ministry. He demanded the premiership for himself, and required that Lords Melville, Spencer, and Grenville, and Mr. Windham, should be admitted to the cabinet. These terms were too imperious and humiliating to be acceded to, and the ministry therefore endeavoured to strengthen themselves from the ranks of the Whig opposition. The session which followed furnished public evidence of the schism that had arisen. On a vote of censure, June 3rd, Mr. Pitt moved what Sheridan called 'the shabby shelter of the previous question;' and on the 13th of July, Mr. Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester, tells us that 'words of considerable asperity, or rather language in a tone of asperity, passed from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Addington.' This state of things could not long continue. There were three parties in the house opposed to the minister, that of Mr. Pitt, that of Mr. Fox, and that of Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham. The last two speedily united, and the junction of the first was waited for as a sure omen of success. Some difficulties were experienced in arranging their party tactics, but all gave way before the passion of the hour, and the ministerial majority having been reduced to thirty-seven, Mr. Addington resolved to resign. We cannot view with approval the conduct of either section of the opposition, but least of all that of Mr. Fox. The administration he contributed to subvert, was confessedly more popular than that to which it gave place. He himself was aware of this, as appears from the following note:—

'Lord Holland once told Lord Sidmouth that he had often heard his uncle, Mr. Fox, say, that he considered the Addington administration the most popular one since the accession, and he need not have resigned with a majority in the House of Commons, and the general voice of the country in his favour. The reply was, that it was to save the king from being driven to the wall by the coalition. Mr. Addington always said it was Mr. Pitt's ascendancy in the House of Lords, through the eighty creations he had made, which enabled him to overthrow the government.'—Vol. ii. p. 274.

Nor could it have been imagined by Mr. Fox and his friends that the overthrow of the government would lead to any other

result than that which followed. The only alternative which presented itself was a coalition with Mr. Pitt, against which it may be supposed, even if the personal feelings of the king were not regarded, a sufficient warning had been received in the fate of the North and Fox administration. Indeed, the Whig members of opposition were fully aware of the tendency of their proceedings. 'We are the pioneers,' said Mr. Courtenay, one of their number, 'digging the foundations; but Mr. Pitt will be the architect to build the house, and to inhabit it.' We dwell on this passage of Mr. Fox's history with regret. It does him no honour, and tends, in conjunction with other events, to diminish our confidence in the rectitude of his patriotism. The service he rendered at a critical period of our history, in opposing the policy of Mr. Pitt, entitles him to the gratitude of his country, and has associated his name with the best men of a former age. But he wanted their integrity, and in the absence of the higher moral qualities which were their glory, was not unfrequently diverted from the course to which his professions committed him.

There was another statesman, also, to whom these proceedings were far from honourable. Lord Eldon was at this time Chancellor, and the lowest standard of political morality ought to have prevented his engaging in any intrigue hostile to his leader. Yet he did so engage, and that, too, in circumstances of studied secrecy, which are, of themselves, sufficient to awaken suspicion. He became the medium of communication between the king and Mr. Pitt, and has thus involved his biographer in a difficulty, which neither his ability nor his admiration has been able to surmount. In this intrigue he was engaged, prior to the division of the 25th of April, and before Mr. Addington, therefore, had determined to resign. Alluding to his agency, the Dean remarks:—

'Of whatever nature, therefore, the communications between the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt may have been on the 22nd and the following day, they were confined to themselves, and remained wholly unknown to his lordship's principal colleague. The private nature of the transaction, indeed, is distinctly stated in the following extract from Mr. Pitt's note to the Lord Chancellor, of the 22nd of April:—'I enclose my letter unsealed for your inspection, knowing that you will allow me in so doing to request that *you will not communicate its contents to any one but the king himself*. I am the more anxious that you should see what I have written, because I cannot think of asking you to undertake to be the bearer of a letter expressing sentiments so adverse to the government with which you are acting, without giving you the previous opportunity of knowing in what manner those sentiments are stated.' As the letter alluded



to above has never, it is believed, been published, the nature of the '*adverse sentiments*' contained in it cannot be ascertained. Mr. Addington, however, told Mr. Abbot in the conversation on the 29th of October already referred to, that the letter which the Chancellor delivered to the king from Mr. Pitt, contained expressions so injurious to him (Mr. Addington), that at the last cabinet meeting, on the night before the new ministry was formed, he very strongly remonstrated with his lordship on the proceeding.'—*Ib.* pp. 278, 279.

As might have been anticipated, the king refused to admit Mr. Fox to his councils, and his new ally was consequently reduced to the necessity of completing his arrangements from the ranks of 'his personal friends, and some of the existing administration.' The king parted from his minister with regret. In a letter dated May the 9th, he says:—

'The king has this instant finished a long but most satisfactory conversation with Mr. Pitt, who will stand forth, though Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham have declined even treating, as Mr. Fox is excluded by the express command of the king to Mr. Pitt. This being the case, the king desires Mr. Addington will attend here at ten to-morrow morning, with the seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The king's friendship for Mr. Addington is too deeply graven on his heart to be in the least diminished by any change of situation: his majesty will order the warrant to be prepared for the creating Mr. Addington Earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford, and Baron Reading; and will order the message to be carried by Mr. York to the House of Commons for the usual annuity, having most honourably and ably filled the station of Speaker of the House of Commons. The king will settle such a pension on Mrs. Addington, whose virtue and modesty he admires, as Mr. Addington may choose to propose.'—*Ib.* p. 288.

Mr. Addington's reply to this communication was unselfish and dignified. It does too much honour to a man with whose political creed we have little sympathy, to be omitted, and we therefore subjoin it. It was written immediately on the receipt of the king's letter:—

'Mr. Addington will not fail to obey your majesty's commands to-morrow morning, at the hour which your majesty has been pleased to appoint. He is deeply impressed with the feelings which are due to the fresh proofs which your majesty has condescended to afford him of your consideration and favour; but he most humbly and earnestly hopes to be forgiven by your majesty, for declaring that he could not possibly avail himself of them, without the utter destruction of that comfort and peace of mind which he is fully convinced that it is your majesty's gracious and benevolent purpose to preserve and promote. Mr. Addington ventures to refer to his past conduct, as a pledge for those sentiments of duty and of faithful attachment to

your majesty, which have ever been uppermost in his mind, and which will continue fixed and unalterable to the latest moment of his life.'—*ib.* p. 288.

At the personal interview which took place on the following day, the offer of a peerage and pension was again pressed on his acceptance, and was respectfully, yet firmly declined. 'You are a proud man, Mr. Addington,' said the monarch, 'but I am a proud man too; and why should I sleep uneasy on my pillow, because you will not comply with my request? Why should I feel the consciousness that I have suffered you to ruin your family, and that through your attachment to me?'

Mr. Pitt's measures were the best vindication of the government he had supplanted. He departed from its policy only to waste the public finances, and to embroil the nation in continental alliances, which disappointed his hopes, and stimulated the military passions of France. Mr. Addington's conduct, in the mean time, was calm and prudent. He did not commit himself to opposition, but was mainly influenced by what he deemed the personal feelings of the king. 'I shall keep aloof,' he remarked, 'from all parties, adhere to the king, and take a course that I can justify to myself.' Friends at length interposed to effect a reconciliation, and early in January, 1805, Mr. Addington was created Viscount Sidmouth, and was chosen Lord President of the council. We pass over the negotiation, which preceded these events, and hasten to observe that the political conjunction which they denoted was but short-lived. Differences speedily arose. The one was perhaps too sensitive, the other too dictatorial. Addington retained a lively sense of what was due to the friends who had stood by him in 1804, and Pitt was disinclined to admit any division of authority. The former consequently resigned in July, and on the 23rd of the following January Mr. Pitt expired, worn down, it is evident, by the anxieties of his position. In a letter to Mr. Bathurst, written the day before, Mr. Addington refers to the approaching dissolution of his early friend in the following terms:—

'I must see you, my dear Charles, as soon as you can come with perfect safety. Ere this the scene is probably closed at Putney Heath! In a note, written early this evening, the Bishop of Lincoln tells me that 'the symptoms indicate approaching dissolution.' May everlasting happiness await him! To me it is a comfort not to be expressed, that I have been enabled at this crisis to show, not merely attention, but the affection which has never been extinguished, and that all has been, in this respect, as I could have wished. It is also most gratifying to me to have stopped the intended proceeding of yesterday. I have reason to know that my declaration that I would oppose the amendment, and the very numerous appearance of my

friends, were the causes of its being abandoned. The behaviour of all the friends of poor Pitt, who deserve to be valued, indicates very satisfactorily what they think and feel. The situation of the country is most critical, and my own not unembarrassing. We must, if it be possible, have a strong and efficient government, and a weak opposition; and this can only be accomplished by combinations and arrangements which I certainly never could look to as objects of choice, though they may be called for by public necessity. For my own part, I will neither, on the one hand, assist in propping a weak and incompetent government, nor will I have any share, on the other, in fettering the king's prerogative. In parliament and in the closet, I will offer the best advice I am capable of giving, but there must be no coercion. I look forward with great anxiety, not unmixed with apprehension.'—*Ib.* p. 407.

The Fox and Grenville administration succeeded, and, strange to say, Lord Sidmouth accepted office as Keeper of the Privy Seal, expressly stating, we are informed, 'that whether in the present or future reign, in or out of office, he would ever resist, to his utmost, the catholic question.' Lord Ellenborough, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, was associated with him in the cabinet, against whose appointment strong constitutional objections were urged. The conjunction of such men with the leaders of the opposition of 1804, was severely censured at the time, and was evidently a repetition, on a smaller scale, of the coalition which had so seriously damaged Mr. Fox's early reputation. 'Lord Sidmouth, with Lord Ellenborough by his side,' remarked a Tory peer, 'put him in mind of a faithful old steward, with his mastiff, watching new servants, lest they should have some evil designs against the old family mansion.' Dean Pellew remarks:

'Such, then, were the circumstances under which Lord Sidmouth took his seat in the cabinet amongst those who, not two years before, had been his determined opponents. He was generally considered the king's friend, and this, as regarded personal devotion and attachment, he undoubtedly was; but it would have been a gross error to assert, that he exercised the slightest unconstitutional influence whatever, or was admitted by his majesty to any private intercourse. It was chiefly, indeed, to prevent any suspicion of this nature from arising, that he had preferred the custody of the privy seal to the presidency of the council; and it so happened that, in consequence of the manner in which his resignation in the previous summer had been misrepresented to the king, his lordship was, at that time, labouring under a partial interruption of the royal favour, which he did not fully regain until the latter end of the ensuing summer. His letters written at this period mention in approving terms the friendly and honourable treatment he experienced from his new colleagues,



their freedom from narrow and party views, and their devotion to the public service. He appears to have been much consulted by Lord Grenville in the formation of the government, and several of his own friends were admitted to important offices.'—*Ib.* p. 424.

Mr. Fox did not long survive his great rival Pitt. His death occurred September 13th, 1806, and was thus announced by Lord Sidmouth to his brother:—

'Poor Fox closed his career yesterday evening, and, I trust, is at peace. He suffered little, but was occasionally dejected: in general, however, he preserved his complacency, and smiled when any friend approached him, even when he could not converse: as late as Thursday, when he rallied considerably, he talked with Lord Holland and others very cheerfully; and, observing a servant in the room, he spoke in French. Prayers were read to him every day; and he frequently clasped his hands together, and showed strong signs of devotion. This is a soothing and gratifying circumstance. His last words were—'I pity you!' looking at his wife: just before, he had said, 'I die happy.' Of his talents there can be but one opinion. His natural disposition deserved, I really believe, all that could be said in its favour. I never knew a man of more apparent sincerity; more free from rancour, or even severity; and hardly any one so entirely devoid of affectation. His principles, unhappily, were not sufficiently fixed, and he was too easily led. The consequences of this event will be very embarrassing: with respect to his office, nothing is yet settled.'—*Ib.* p. 434.

The fascination of Mr. Fox was irresistible. It was felt by all who came in contact with him, and entered largely into his popularity. 'Little did I think,' said George III. to Lord Sidmouth, 'that I should ever live to regret Mr. Fox's death.' Lord Grenville's administration soon expired, and was succeeded by that of the Duke of Portland, under whom Lord Sidmouth declined to retain office.

'On retiring, now for the third time, from the councils of his sovereign, Lord Sidmouth pursued the same loyal and temperate course as upon the two former occasions. By disconnecting him from the Whig party, the late crisis had brought him back one step nearer his original position, from which he had been displaced by that dislocation of political bonds in 1804, occasioned by Mr. Pitt's coalition with Mr. Fox; and although he considered the new administration extremely feeble, still, as he had remarked to Bishop Huntingford, '*it is the king's government, and to a systematic opposition I will never be a party.* It is my firm determination,' he proceeded, 'to support the king, and to resist any attempt to discredit his late conduct, to fetter his prerogative, or to offer any violence to his feelings on a point on which his sense of civil and religious duty is deeply and unalterably committed. Under this impression, I shall think it in-

cumbent upon me to oppose any motion, which, though only expressive of approbation of the conduct of his late servants, is intended to call in question that of the king.'—*Ib.* p. 469.

The duke's resignation in September, 1809, led to no material alteration in Lord Sidmouth's position. Mr. Percival who succeeded to the premiership, first sought to strengthen himself by the additions of Lords Grenville and Grey, but failing in this, he opened communications with Lord Sidmouth, informing him, 'that vacancies would be kept open for some of his friends in the House of Commons,' and soliciting his aid to secure their concurrence. This attempt to detach his friends from him was naturally resented, and the explanation subsequently given by Mr. Percival, rendered it evident that the exclusion of Lord Sidmouth arose from the hostile feeling of the Pitt section of the cabinet. The communication was described by Lord Sidmouth as amounting 'in substance only to this—if you will persuade *your* friends to support me, I will endeavour to persuade *mine* to permit you to come into office sometime or other?' This government, like that of the Duke of Portland, was so intrinsically weak, as to be wholly unequal to the crisis which had arrived, and Lord Sidmouth and his friends remained, therefore, in doubt as to the course they should pursue. This hesitation, however, did not long continue. He became President of the Council in April, 1812, and thus afforded another illustration of the pliancy of his views, or, as his admirers allege, of his candour and forgetfulness of personal affronts in deference to the public interest.

In the meantime, and before his resumption of office, Lord Sidmouth, June the 2nd, 1809, moved in the House of Lords, for returns of the licenses to preach which had been issued throughout England and Wales, since 1780, and received the warmest encouragement from various peers, both lay and spiritual. The matter was postponed till May, 1811, when his lordship introduced his celebrated bill, 'to explain and render more effectual the Acts of 1st William and Mary, and the 19th George III., so far as relates to dissenting ministers.' This bill was nominally designed to remedy the evils which he alleged had crept into the administration of the Toleration Act, but was really intended to put down the itinerant system of dissent, and to cripple its other movements. It afforded, however, to dissenters an opportunity to evidence the vigour, promptitude, and combination with which they could act, and thus materially contributed to the progress of sound opinion. Lord Holland and other peers expounded the doctrine of Locke with clearness and distinguished ability, and the ill-fated measure was rejected

on the second reading without a division. On the following day, Lord Sidmouth informed his brother, 'that he was uninjured by the storm which fear, faction, and fanaticism had co-operated to raise.' This language though unusually strong for the writer, is the customary style in which the advocates of intolerance describe the resistance with which they meet. Our history is full of it. It may be traced from the days of Parker, and is evidently borrowed from the vocabulary of Rome. His lordship's views on the subject of religious liberty, were not behind those of his class. So long as the public was silent he was greeted with the approval of bishops and statesmen, but when the rising storm was discovered, they prudently retired and left him to bear its fury. Had he succeeded, he would have been enrolled in the list of church worthies, but as a discomfited champion, his prudence was questioned, though the purity of his intentions, to use the cant of toryism, was undoubted. The treatment he received from his own party was far from generous, and may well caution adventurous politicians from imitating his example.

It is due to his lordship to say that he fell into the hands of bad advisers. He sought the opinion of those whom he deemed competent to inform him of the views of dissenters, and considering what has recently occurred, it is instructive to observe that these gentlemen were Methodists or Unitarians. Writing on the 20th of April, he says, 'This morning I had a meeting with Dr. Coke, the head of the Wesleyan methodists, and have completely satisfied him. His apprehensions are converted into zealous approbation.' And so late as the 9th of May, before going to the house, he informed his brother, 'From my communications with dissenters, I should think the measure, *in itself*, will be well taken by them.' Mr. William Smith, the chairman of the London Dissenting Deputies, is represented by his lordship as having mainly conducted to this confidence. His words are, 'Mr. Smith repeatedly told me that the bill was so reasonable in its principle, and so just and moderate in its provisions, that he could not oppose it. *The clause relating to probationers was introduced at his suggestion.*' \*

The assassination of Mr. Percival in May 1812, made way for the administration of Lord Liverpool, under whom Lord Sidmouth held the seals of the Home Office until January 1822. This was a period of unexampled distress. Want of employment

\* The 'warmest thanks' of the deputies were presented to Mr. Smith, May 28th, for his exertions in defeating this measure. (A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies, &c., p. 116). How could these thanks have been received? We should like to see the memory of Mr. Smith relieved from the imputation cast on it by his lordship's words.



and dearness of food generated universal discontent, which showed itself in tumultuous assemblages, lawless outbreaks, and secret machinations, yet more formidable. The government saw the evil, and, like feeble men, sought to put it down by mere force. Sagacious statesmen would have regarded it only as symptomatic, and have sought its cure by an eradication of the disease whence it sprang: but not so the cabinet of Lord Liverpool. It sought to crush the discontent which it ought to have removed, and its measures were full of hazard to public liberty. In any other country they would have produced a conflict, which must have ended in military rule or popular ascendancy. Happily the body of the nation remained calm. The people saw and despised the feebleness and tyranny of their rulers, and awaited, in the confidence of ultimate triumph, the struggle which impended. Sound political principles were in the mean time extensively diffused. Men learnt the secret of their power; they gathered up their strength, and began to anticipate the moral conflict in which we are now actually engaged. The long premiership of Lord Liverpool served a purpose in English history, like that of the reign of James the First. The feebleness of the men who composed his cabinet awakened contempt, whilst their obvious hostility to popular liberty, chafed and exasperated the nation. The former stood in a similar relation to the Reform Bill, as the latter did to the Long Parliament. Dean Pellew discovers, of course, nothing but what was commendable in the policy of Lord Sidmouth and his associates. As a sample of his views we extract his reference to the trials of William Hone, in 1817, in which there is much to induce comment and censure, if our space permitted. We knew the defendant, and loved him for his virtues. He may have erred in the publications he issued, but there was no man in the kingdom less capable of the vices charged on him. He lived to indulge the hopes of Christianity, and died in the enjoyment of its peace. Speaking of 1817, our author says:—

‘Before the close of the year, a painful disappointment befell all serious Christians, in the acquittal, before Lord Ellenborough, by a London jury, of a bookseller, named William Hone, for publishing a series of blasphemous and disgusting parodies on the various solemn formularies of the Established Church, tending to destroy the salutary influence of the ministers of religion, and to bring Christianity itself into contempt. The defendant was tried on three several indictments on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of December, and was acquitted upon them all. His escape has been attributed by some, to the severe indisposition of the learned judge; and by others, to an impression entertained by the jury that Hone’s motives were political, and not directed against religion. But these excuses, even if correct,

do not rescue British jurisprudence from the stigma of having allowed one to escape punishment who had wilfully committed the crime of turning into ridicule the chief source of human happiness and human improvement, and of endeavouring to banish from men's minds those wholesome religious restraints which, during the recent war, had created the distinction between the loyal and God-fearing Englishman and that frantic worshipper of the blood-stained goddess of liberty, the French revolutionist. The verdicts, therefore, were totally unjustifiable; and if the more private particulars of this disgraceful transaction could be known, and the personal characters of the jurors be now examined, there can be little doubt that an explanation would thus be afforded.

‘It should not be forgotten that a government, on such occasions as these, is placed in a very unfavourable point of view. It appears in the character of a persecutor; the images of past times arise on the memory; the fires of Smithfield, the dungeons of the Inquisition, the cruel execution of the penal laws. Amongst the jurors of a great metropolis, in a highly civilised state of society, there must always be found some who are indifferent to religion, and others who are hostile. Such men will go any lengths, rather than encourage the government in what they will call the practices of intolerance. It is in vain to represent to them the difference between the fair exercise of the rights of free inquiry, and the indecent and wicked abuse of such rights. They will distinguish nothing: they will hear nothing; and, by plausible declamation, they affect the minds of their fellows. Pious and good men, therefore, must consider—and it is a problem which can only be determined by the particular circumstances and difficulties of each separate case—whether it may not frequently be preferable to restrain their virtuous indignation; and, instead of interposing the shield of the law in defence of religion against every graceless and despicable assailant, to leave so sacred a cause to be protected by the good sense and good feeling of society at large. The enemies of the best interests of mankind will thus be defeated; for they will fall into neglect and oblivion, even from the very circumstance of their not having been noticed.’—Vol. iii. pp. 203—205.

We have no space to trace the subsequent career of Lord Sidmouth, and have said enough to indicate our estimate of his character and services. The volumes in which his career is recorded, should be read by all who are desirous of accurately tracing the course of our public affairs at the commencement of the present century. They are a valuable addition to our political biography, and in some cases furnish important corrections of the life of Lord Eldon, and of the diaries of Lord Malmesbury.

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ART. II.—*The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity ; considered in Eight Lectures, founded by the Right Hon. Robert Boyle.*  
By Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn,  
and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. London :  
John W. Parker. 1847.

UNDER the above title, Mr. Maurice has presented to the public an admirable book. It is the work of a Christian gentleman and philosopher, as well as of an accomplished writer, whose acquaintance with foreign tongues, whether living or dead, has happily not taught him to forget his own. The wilful slovenliness, the elaborate carelessness, and the vulgar affectation of new coined or foreign words and phrases, which render so ridiculous, to men of taste, many of the philosophical works on religion in the present day, have no place in this valuable production. It is as pure in style, as it is great and catholic in its object. No needless addition, moreover, to the numberless publications of the day, it fills up a chasm in our theological literature ; which, we have often thought, had too long been left open. Nor could the great philosopher himself, from whose benevolent bequest this work has arisen, have suggested to his lecturer a happier choice of subject.

By those who are anxious for the preservation of a sound theology amongst us, nothing should be more narrowly watched than the dominant influence of Germany upon the literature of this country. A nation, which, a century ago, could scarcely be said to have a literature of its own, has contrived, since the days of Leibnitz, and especially since the French Revolution, to place itself at the head of the great republic of letters ; and, as mankind are no less the slaves of fashion in matters of this kind than in dress or manners, some of the most popular writers in our country, at the present time, are those who, in thought and style, are the mere apes of German eccentricities. They think and write, under a great show of originality, but in reality only as the Germans give them leave ; nor is it easy to determine whether, by their attempts to mystify everything, they are doing more to corrupt the manly simplicity of the English understanding, or to disfigure the classical beauty and precision of our native tongue. Far be it from us to withhold from the great German nation, or assemblage of nations, a particle of due respect. Their herculean labours, in almost every branch of literature and science, we should be sorry in the least degree to undervalue. Nor would we pander to the insular prejudices of our countrymen, by fostering among them the slightest unwillingness to learn what Germany, or any other nation, is competent to teach.



But we would have Englishmen think, and think for themselves, as well as learn. With all its defects, we believe that the English understanding is far more healthy, more really profound and intrinsically good, for all the ends of human existence, than that of our present teachers. We are learning from them many things which, we feel assured, they ought never to have learnt themselves; and in such matters it would be far better for both parties, and for the world at large, that they should learn of us than we of them. If there be any one thing to which these remarks apply with greater force than to another, it is theology—a subject upon which, their known and avowed habit, of separating the theoretical from the practical, has infused so much heartless levity and recklessness into their speculations, as to render them as unphilosophical in their spirit, as dangerous in their tendency.

Whatever deserves the name of religion is not a theory but a law; not a speculative subject, but the revelation of an absolute will—a will fitly, irresistibly, and unquestionably absolute; to which no created intellect or will, without the most absurd and profane impertinence, can say, 'What doest Thou?' This, as the word implies, is true religion. All this, and nothing less or otherwise than this, Christianity professes itself to be. It tells us plainly, that, with our philosophies and theories, it neither stands nor intends to stand upon common ground: that its doctrines and precepts are the authoritative revelation of a wisdom, which, in most merciful condescension, is willing to guide us; but is far too merciful to allow the sufficiency of an understanding, dark and puny as ours, to guide itself. It commands us, therefore, not to question or dispute, but to believe and obey; laying, like little children, both intellect and will at its feet. Without this, it gives us plainly to understand, that we can neither reach its meaning or rewards; but must wander for ever in darkness, and be lost.

In dealing, therefore, with such an announcement, the office of the human understanding is simply to interpret its meaning; and determine, by a serious examination of its credentials, whether it is or is not what it professes to be. If it be not, let it be rejected, not as a mistaken theory, but as a blasphemous and detestable imposture, which, in the name of the universal lawgiver, and judge, has dared to trifle with the loftiest hopes and capabilities of his creatures. If, on the contrary, it is, what it claims to be considered, an authoritative announcement of an absolute and almighty will, then, to speculate on its infallible decisions, as though they were the hypotheses of a human theory, or to study them, with any other feeling than a devout and settled determination of yielding the

whole soul to their guidance, is to be guilty of the grossest and most disastrous blunder in philosophy. Whether true or false, Christianity is no matter for mere literary amusement or heartless speculation. Its very nature as a religion, an avowed revelation and law of the eternal God, demands that the heart and conscience should go with the intellect into all inquiries respecting it; and that it should never be meddled with, but with a view to great practical results.

But this practical earnestness, without which it is impossible that a right judgment of the Christian religion should be formed, is precisely that spirit which the education and institutions of Germany are all planned to repress and, if possible, destroy. In the profession and practice of religion, the German neither understands nor enjoys, nor wishes to enjoy, the right of private judgment. From conversation with some of the clergy and leading men in that country, as well as distinguished functionaries of our own and other countries, resident among them, we have been led seriously to question, whether religious liberty is not better understood even in popish countries, than by the people who were once taught by Luther to defy the power of Rome. How many, and what forms of religion are to be tolerated or sanctioned,—whether one or more, and whether the religions thus tolerated or favoured shall be Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Mennonite, or that of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, are questions which, throughout Germany, are settled by the government alone, and about which the people, from habit or necessity, take little or no concern. The worship which the German shall offer, the forms he shall observe, the creed he shall profess and swear that he believes, or teach his children to swear and profess that they believe, are matters with which his individual convictions, on pain of fines, imprisonment, and forfeiture, not only of all civil rights, but of his good standing in public opinion, must never meddle; so that, throughout that country, theory and practice are regarded as two separate things, which ought to have little or nothing to do with each other. Hence the king of Prussia, a few years back, with scarcely a murmur or show of resistance from his subjects, was allowed to change, very materially, the religion of that country; a melancholy instance of a whole people dead at heart to all that man, from the foundation of the world, had held most dear.

As, however, in such a state of things it is impossible that the human mind, so long as it retains the least recognition of Christianity, as an authoritative revelation of the will of God, should enjoy a moment's repose, we discover throughout Germany a general tendency, both in rulers and people, to

scepticism or infidelity; as the only means of quieting the mind in the maintenance of creeds and forms, in the choice of which the heart and conscience have had nothing to do. Hence that hollow, faithless, heartless jumble of Christianity and infidelity, which, for the last century, has distinguished the German theology. In some of their works, the Christian element predominates: in others, the sceptical; but, in either case, Christianity, even when its divine origin is admitted, is treated, not as a divine law, before which all human laws and wills should bend, but as a theory to be explained, accounted for, altered or improved, as the circumstances of the age may require. Even in the pages of the excellent Neander, a considerable infusion of this spirit may be detected. The great difficulty in Germany, as in all countries where men are driven into the profession of a religion, either against or without the conscience, is the word of God; which threatens them with eternal punishment, unless they disobey. In order, therefore, to release the people from the necessity of martyrdom on the one hand, or the dread of divine displeasure on the other, the German theologian endeavours so to mystify, explain away, or undermine the authority of the word of God, as to enable the people, without being troubled in conscience, to profess any religion convenience may dictate, or the law of the land impose. The general feeling is, touch the Lutheran church if you dare; but do with the word of God just what you please: take care that you are Scribes and Pharisees, even to persecution, in the profession and forms of religion; and in speculation you may be Sadducees, Libertines, Mystics, Christians,—anything you choose. Rulers and subjects, clergy and professors of divinity, with the exception of those who happen to be adherents of some one of the tolerated faiths, bind themselves by oath to maintain the Holy Scriptures, the works of Martin Luther, together with the symbolical books of the established church; and thus swear, by implication, that the Bible is divine. Nor do they hesitate to visit with fines, imprisonment, and public reprobation, those who attempt the smallest practical innovation on their forms. Yet, without an atom of shame or apparent consciousness of the profane levity or inconsistency of their conduct, they speculate on Christianity, not as a divine law, but as a mere human theory; not to learn what it teaches, but to show what it ought to teach; not as *the* religion, but as one of the religions of the world: not, therefore, to obey, but to alter and improve it, or see whether, by combining it with other theories and religions, they may not strike out a universal system, that shall be better adapted to the philosophical wants and discoveries of the age.

That, among the clergy and divines of that country, there are



many men of deep and earnest piety, who deplore as bitterly as ourselves the state of things around them, we not only believe, but know and can testify. But for many years the prevailing tendency of the theological and philosophical literature, as well as of much of the preaching in that country, has been so to maintain the forms of religion, as to reduce religion to a mere form; by mystifying the sense of Christianity, or placing it on a level with the other religions of the world. For this purpose the Naturalism, as it was called, of Lessing and Wolfenbüttel, or the anonymous author, whoever he was, of the fragments found in the library of Wolfenbüttel, was constructed out of the *disjecta membra* of Bolingbroke, Toland, Morgan, Chubb, Woolston, and other English Deists. This theory was founded on the direct assumption that the inspired writers were impostors: but, as only few could be induced to believe a charge so impudently gratuitous, it was soon displaced by the Rationalism of Eichhorn and his associates; who, allowing the sacred writers to be sincere, attributed to the philosophical ignorance of the age in which they lived, their accounts of supernatural occurrences; which were to be explained by the supposition of natural causes now better understood. The philosophy, as it is styled, of Kant followed, as a kind of interregnum; which, borrowing from Origen a large amount of mystical absurdity without his faith, reduced to moral allegory all that was too miraculous to be believed. Gabler and Schelling, unable to reconcile this, or any other preceding system with the laws of history, introduced the Mythic theory, on the principle laid down by Heyne, '*A mythis omnis priscorum hominum cum historia tum philosophia procedit*;' all the history of the ancients, as well as their philosophy, proceeds from Myths. The Holy Scriptures, therefore, like the early fabulous writings of heathen nations, are but the records of Jewish and Christian mythology, and as such are to be interpreted. Accordingly a mythology (!) of the Old and New Testament was published by Bauer; and the system, in all its reckless profanity, has been, subsequently, applied to the 'Life of Jesus,' by the daring hand of Strauss.

What will be the end of all this profane trifling with the Word of God by a nation, among whom any thing passes for philosophy if it happens not to be religion, it is impossible to say: but at present the subjective principle, with a halo of transcendentalism around it, seems to be the prevailing fancy. Truth is nothing objective, nothing independent of man himself, but simply what he happens to think, feel, or originate. The supposition, therefore, of a revelation or communication from God is absurd. No voice from another world has ever spoken, no heavenly vision been seen, no inspiration from above

received; so that the Jewish and Christian revelations, like the various pagan systems, are to be regarded as simply the religious dreams of men, who fancied themselves inspired; or the various developments of 'the religious principle in man.'

Our readers, who are acquainted with the works of Mr. Carlyle, and other writers of the same school, will at once recollect, from these remarks, how injuriously fine talents have been employed in retailing out, as so much original discovery, this German trash to the British public; and what an air of mystic quackery and conceit it has thrown over productions, which might otherwise have rendered great service to mankind. From these attacks upon revelation, insidious as they are, we have no fear whatever of the ultimate result. The philosophical theology, or in plain English, the infidelity of Germany has already, within the memory of the present generation, five times shifted its ground; and the subjective fancy, like its predecessors, will soon be displaced by some new whim from that land of dreams. But in the mean time, the fashionable rage for second-hand absurdities is spreading wider and wider; and it is humiliating to see how the native taste and practical good sense of Englishmen are giving way before it. Though there is a far less amount of plain out-spoken English infidelity than there was, we believe that the victims of this more fatal, because less tangible, scepticism are rapidly on the increase. As though nothing had ever been settled or proved in religion, every thing is thrown afresh into mysticism and doubt. If the Bible be read it is read, like everything else, with German eyes. Doubting Castle, (not John Bunyan's) but a new German philosophical one, built of transcendental clouds and vapours, is now the general asylum of a mad world; and the British nation, which once could think, is learning to dream; forgetful that men dream when they are asleep, but think when they are awake.

To this sceptical epidemic, Mr. Maurice, in his work on 'The Religions of the World,' has endeavoured to supply an antidote: and though, in doing so he has viewed it simply as it exists in this country, we feel persuaded that it is only by viewing it in its relations to the land of its birth, that its nature and tendency can be fully understood. We hope, therefore, that the preceding sketch of its history and progress will not be unacceptable to our readers. As to the extent to which it has already spread in this country, our author, who from his station may be regarded as a competent judge, writes as follows:—

'Faith, it is now admitted, has been the most potent instrument of good to the world; has given to it nearly all which it can call pre-

cious. But then, it is asked, is there not ground for supposing that all the different religious systems, and not one only, may be the legitimate products of that faith which is so essential a part of man's constitution? Are not they manifestly adopted to peculiar times and localities and races? Is it not probable that the theology of all alike is something merely accidental, an imperfect theory about our relations to the universe, which will in due time give place to some other? Have we not reason to suppose that Christianity, instead of being, as we have been taught, a revelation, has its roots in the heart and intellects of man, as much as any other system? Are there not the closest, the most obvious relations between it and them? Is it not subject to the same laws of decay from the progress of knowledge and society with all the rest? Must we not expect that it too will lose all its mere theological characteristics, and that what at last survives of it will be of a very general character—some great ideas of what is good and beautiful—some excellent maxims of life, which may very well assimilate, if they be not actually the same, with the essential principles which are contained in all other religions, and which will also, it is hoped, abide for ever?

‘Notions of this kind will be found, I think, in much of the erudite as well as of the popular literature of this day; *they are undoubtedly floating in the minds of all.*’—pp. 8, 9.

Such a statement from a distinguished clergyman of the Established Church, a professor of theology in the metropolitan university, and the chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, is sufficiently appalling. It is consoling, however, to find one or two admitted truths, like grains of gold, even in the midst of all this heartless scepticism. It allows us to assume as axioms, that ‘there is a religious principle in man;’ and, that ‘faith is the most potent instrument of good to the world.’ Upon both these admissions, we venture to think, with all due deference to our author, he should have taken his stand; and, allowing to a considerable extent the workings of the religious principle, in the different religions which have engaged the faith of man, have shown, as he might easily have done, its insufficiency and perversion. Mr. Maurice, however, has pursued a different course. Examining in succession the principal religions of the world, and comparing them with Christianity, he attributes the influence, which they have severally had, to something in each of them intrinsically good and divine, with which ‘the working of the religious principle’ has had nothing to do. At the same time pointing out their radical errors and defects, he shows how the former are corrected, and the latter supplied, by Christianity; while it embodies every principle, contained in them, that may be fairly regarded as divine. In accordance with his views on these points, he throws out many interesting suggestions as to the manner in which these religions should be met by the Christian missionary; and, though we cannot sub-



scribe to some of them, we think them all worthy of attention from those, whose high office it is to preach, among the heathen, 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.'

The first religion that passes before us in this grand review, is the Mahometan; and the causes, to which its success is usually ascribed, are successively examined and rejected. In opposition to all that has been written respecting the valour and discipline of the Islam troops; the proneness of the human mind to receive imposture; the alleged plagiarisms of Mahomet from the Word of God; the just and benevolent sentiments which he mingled with his follies and crimes; his commanding intellect and heroic force of character; his promise of a sensual paradise; his hatred of idolatry; and his terrible calling as an instrument, in the hand of God, to punish guilty nations, Mr. Maurice maintains, that Islamism should be regarded as a grand and blessed testimony to 'the existence of a Divine Almighty Will, to which all other wills were to be bowed,' and that this is the only proper explanation of its power.

Hindooism with its Brahm and Brahma (Supreme Intellect and Intelligence); its Preserver, Destroyer, and Restorer; its Avatars, Castes, and Immolations, next appears; and is followed by Buddhism, with its theistical, atheistical, pantheistical, and polytheistical notions. The theological meaning of its supreme and subordinate Lamas, of its sages and devotees is carefully examined and compared, in a manner highly interesting and instructive, with the paternal system, or state religion, of Confucius and the Chinese, together with the doctrines of the Taou sect in that country, or followers of Laoutsee, who worshipped the Divine Reason.

From the great prevailing faiths of the world, he turns to those which are now defunct, though once possessed of similar power; and the first of these is the ancient faith of Persia with its two great principles of Light and Darkness in the persons of Ormuzd and Ahriman—the authors of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong—together with a deeper and yet more hidden and mysterious power, denominated 'Time without Bounds.'

The ancient faiths of Egypt, Greece, Rome, and that of our Gothic forefathers, follow in order, in the grand procession; closing our author's deeply interesting and philosophical scrutiny of those Pagan systems, in which the destinies of so many millions of the human family have been involved.

In dealing with these religions he has determined to give them every possible advantage; and we believe that the heathen, themselves, would be astonished to learn from his pages how good they have been. But after all, apart from Christianity, what is the spiritual firmament of man, where most unclouded,

but a midnight sky? and when we attempt to form systems of the glimmerings of light that are sprinkled over it, how vague, how shapeless and monstrous are the constellations which they form! Mr. Maurice's pathway, however, through this region of darkness, like the Galaxy, though dim and often devious, is, as Milton has it, 'powdered with stars;' and nothing would afford us more pleasure than to follow his track, and notice the many beautiful thoughts, sentiments, and suggestions, which he has so copiously poured forth. Our space, however, will not allow us to do more than quote his own summary.

'I have now completed this division of my subject, and I may ask you for a moment to consider how the different portions of it are connected together, and what is the grand result. Mahometanism, we see, stands upon a different ground from all the rest. It starts from the Divine Will, it assumes a declaration of that Will to men, it affirms men to be the servants of God to execute His Will. Hindooism has only the faintest conception of a Divine Will, but it recognizes a Divine original Light or Intelligence, from which the intelligence of man proceeds, and which it is to contemplate. In striving to ascertain what this Light is—how it is distinct from the human intelligence—the Brahmin becomes lost in speculation. The Buddhist cuts the knot, practically makes man's intellect the origin of all things; yet recognizes a certain universal Intelligence dwelling in the race, and concentrated from time to time in some person. Hindooism and Buddhism have been compelled in different ways to come down from the merely abstract region, and to speak of the Divinity as concerned with the doings of ordinary men; as exercising influences beneficent or pernicious over them: each has been obliged to explain what the universe has to do with the original Intelligence, each has been compelled into an idolatry of material things, against which in its first conception it is a protest. Both have struggled with Mahometanism and been overcome by it; neither has been able to amalgamate with it, for neither has it been found a substitute. Buddhism in China has established itself side by side with a system of social order, the basis of which is the recognition of paternal authority, and which regards the knowledge of the invisible as unattainable. Entirely opposed to this system, Buddhism has been found, nevertheless, an indispensable supplement to it, even for the accomplishment of its own purpose. These different faiths . . . . claim something to satisfy them, something to unite them. . . . Each testifies that there is a chasm which the other seems meant to fill up; but it remains a chasm still. Not one of them can be satisfied by any philosophical theory about the universe, about man, or about God, or about all of them. Mahometanism meets all such substitutions by its primary proclamation, God is; He must be a living personal Being: He must be the King of men. Hindooism is continually attempting to philosophize, but every new turn of its history proclaims, We

want a living Intelligence, which shall hold converse with men. . . . Buddhism has been a continual effort at philosophy ; but every passage of its history proclaims, We want a Living Intelligence to dwell in man. And now we have to add some new evidence to this. First, we hear from Persia a cry for some infinite absolute Being, the ground of Light and Darkness, which he can only call Illimitable Time. Then from the Egyptian the witness of an Ammon, or hidden God. Then from the Greek the cry for something which he cannot express—which must be veiled in mysteries which the poet speaks of as irresistible fate, which the philosopher says must be the Being, which cannot be material, and yet is no abstraction. The Roman must have an invisible God of the city, a righteous law-giver preserving the authority of his state or it perishes. Unless in the heaven, or the abyss, there be one higher than Mannus, the dark thoughts of the Goths signify nothing. But none of them can be satisfied with the recognition of this hidden Being. There must be a manifestation of Him. . . .

'This is the report which history gives of these religions—the mark which they have left of themselves in the actual universe. Dare you talk of all this as merely an illustration of the working of the religious principle in men? Dare you use such a dry, withered, heartless, abstraction? . . . . Or can you comfort yourself with saying, These have all passed away . . . . as visions of the night. Visions they were, but visions which came to men concerning the dreadful realities of their own existence.'—pp. 126—130.

Throughout this investigation our author maintains, that these religions unitedly and severally testify, that there is that in man which demands a revelation—that there is not that in man which makes a revelation. He contends also that, in each system, the theological element is altogether independent of the moral maxims or theories of nature with which it is associated; that, instead of being the drapery for them, they have been the loose, floating, absurd, and filthy drapery, with which the theology of the several systems has been disfigured; but which, nevertheless, it has changed and survived. The theology is the essential life; the morals and philosophy the mere accidents of the system.

In his fifth Lecture, he enters upon the second great division of his subject; viz., the relations of these religions to Christianity: and, after some discriminating remarks on the present state of the Jews, compares the Jewish, Mahometan, and Christian religions with each other. In the sixth and seventh, he points out what he considers to be the relations of Hindooism and Buddhism to Christianity. He then notices the way in which the ancient religions of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Persia, were assailed by the Gospel, together with the degrees and causes of its failure and success, as well as the lesson, which it



ought to teach ; then solemnly reminding us, with an evident eye to prophecy as well as to the general aspect of things, that the time is at hand in which every religion will be put to the severest test, closes his eighth and last Lecture, with the following impressive words:—

‘ Circumstances are always changing ; but the necessities of man’s being do not change. What was true of man generations ago, is true now. If our condition be different from that of men two centuries back, the difference is this : we are come nearer to the great crisis of all controversies, there is less power of hiding ourselves from realities amidst shadows and appearances. Thanks be to God that such a time has come, terrible as it may be to many, nay to all of us. For this is the time which will show that truth is not of man, neither by man, but that it is for man, here and everywhere. Only when the grass withereth, and the flower fadeth—so speaks individual experience, so speaks the voice of history—is it known assuredly that the Word of our God shall stand for ever.’

With sincere admiration of the learning and ability, as well as the devout earnestness and catholic benevolence, displayed in these disquisitions ; with much gratitude, too, for what they have taught, and yet more for what they have suggested to us, we heartily congratulate our lecturer on the success with which he has mastered the difficulties of no ordinary undertaking. By the aid of modern discoveries, he has furnished us with a new Intellectual System of the Universe ; which, if less massive and profound than the first bold attempt of the illustrious Cudworth, is far more intelligible, as well as better adapted, to the age in which we live.

If, however, we have rightly understood him, and we have certainly spared no pains to do so, we cannot but regard some of his positions as extremely doubtful, if not wholly false and objectionable.

The modern infidel, enlightened, as we have seen, from Germany, and dreaming at the foot of a ladder, which as he supposes reaches to heaven, or, perhaps, a great way beyond it, maintains the sufficiency of the religious principle ; and resolves the religions of the world into its workings. On the contrary, Mr. Maurice, not contented with denying this solution of the Jewish and Christian faiths, maintains that it is equally false respecting the theological principles of the rest. But what, we would respectfully ask, has he done to fortify himself in this position ? If the heathen theologies, so highly extolled by him, are not the discoveries of the human mind, what are they ? Whence did they come ? Are they separate revelations ? Are they the traditionary forms of Christian, Jewish, patriarchal, or antediluvian revelations ; or from what other source did they

come? Our own conviction is, that they are a mixture of human speculation with divine traditions, modified and perverted by men of corrupt minds, who, when they knew God, glorified him not as God; neither were they thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Mr. Maurice, we should suppose, from his opposition to the modern infidel solution of them, must regard them as divine traditions; but he no where states this, or attempts to prove it. On the contrary, his pagan sages are strangely led into their conclusions by their reflections upon light, mental and material; upon the animal and spiritual properties of their own compound nature; upon the processes of preservation, destruction, and restoration, going on in the world around them; upon the stellar glories of a bright Persian sky, etc.

But he ought, we think, to have seen, that in all this there is nothing more than what the infidel asserts, namely, the working out of the religious principle in man into theories of the universe around and within him; and that his own arguments are fatal to his position. The Pagan theologies are either divine traditions or not; if they are, as Mr. Maurice's position assumes, they were not acquired in the way he describes; if they are not, then what are they, but the working out of the religious principle in man, which he denies?

The truth is, that our author, if we mistake not, has throughout the whole of his reasoning, masterly as it is in many respects, perplexed himself and his readers by confounding the fact of 'the working out of the religious principle' with the totally different and infinitely more important question, of the sufficiency of that principle to supply its own demands. In a manner most triumphant, he shows its insufficiency, and its constant yearnings after something higher and more certain than its own discoveries. But, this point established, he immediately jumps without further proof to the conclusion, that with the heathen as well as the Jewish and Christian faiths, this principle has had nothing to do; though his own arguments to show its insufficiency, if they prove any thing, prove the reverse.

Yet, so completely has he lost sight of this distinction, that he has been repeatedly led, not only into the logical discrepancy to which we have alluded, but into such a statement of his argument, as, if true, would be fatal to Christianity. Authorized, as he supposes from what he knows of its insufficiency, to deny altogether the working out of the religious principle in the Pagan systems, he concedes to the infidel the right of bringing to the test of that supposed fact the worth of Christianity. But, is it necessary, is it safe, to risk the credit of the gospel upon so

unproved and doubtful a fact? Is it not enough to show that all other systems, whatever their origin, are inadequate to our wants? Let our lecturer suppose some of his sceptical hearers, taking him at his word, to have addressed him in some such way as this, what could he have replied? 'You tell us, that there has been no such thing as the working out of the religious principle in any of the theologies of the world; and that, by this universal test, we may fairly determine the divine authority and worth of Christianity. But if they did not spring from that source, pray what are they, and whence did they come? If they are separate revelations, or different traditions of the same revelation, why do you not plainly say so, and prove what you say? Not only, however, in taking us through the religions of the world, have you failed to do this; but, by a beautiful and elaborate account of the speculations into which the heathen sages, at different periods, were led by their religious feelings on the great primeval Intellect and Will, the fountain of life, beauty, and order, together with the origin of death and misery in the universe—you have established the point you so strenuously deny. If, then, by this universal test, Christianity ought, as you admit, like any other religion to be judged, the subjective theory, which ascribes all of them to the working out of the religious principle in man, is triumphant, and the cause of revelation is lost.' Such a reply, we think, the sceptic might fairly make; and how Mr. Maurice would escape from the difficulty without shifting his ground we do not see. If the gospel be not to be believed until the divinity of every other religion is established, the day of its final triumph must indeed be remote.

With all deference to our author's learning, we cannot but think, that his extremely favourable views of the spirit of Paganism are equally unsound. Nothing, either in history or the Word of God, allows us to think, that the Pagan systems owe their influence to those pure, amiable, and devout feelings and principles, to which he ascribes them; or that it is under the guidance of any such principles, that the people deluded by them habitually live. We believe, with the apostle of the Gentiles, that their superstitions are 'the doctrines of devils' adapted to the depravity of our fallen nature; and that the feeble glimmerings of truth, which, after laborious research, may be discovered in the midst of them, have little or nothing to do with the faith or practice of the people. Let the beautiful and ingeniously drawn picture of Hindooism, in the sixth Lecture, be fairly compared with the dark, terrific, but far more profound and graphic portraiture of the same system, by Foster in his *Missionary Sermon*; and no competent judge, we think,



will deny that the great essayist is right. Did we not know the power of hypothesis to pervert the judgment, our author's views of Islamism would appear to us most unaccountably mysterious.

The place assigned to Mahomet by Mr. Carlyle in his temple of heroes, not long since, was sufficiently startling to the common-sense of the world. Nor could Mahomet, himself, with the consciousness which he must have had of his crimes and impostures, have dreamt, that in a Christian land, he should find himself so favourably metamorphosed. But Mr. Maurice has out-Carlyled Carlyle, in his defence and admiration of the great Arabian impostor, whom he has converted into a religious reformer and witness for God! We are told to read Gibbon; we have read him and much besides; but still we have to ask, why a crafty homicide, who rioted through the whole of the latter part of his life in sensuality and blood, should be canonized in the nineteenth century as a great religious reformer or witness for God. The inspired apostle, who saw the Saracen horsemen, issuing like swarms of locusts, armed with the stings of scorpions, from the smoke of the bottomless pit, must have held a very different opinion. The Arabian soldier, it is true, vociferated 'God is great,' as he murdered and destroyed God's creatures, or spurred his victorious charger over heaps of the dying and the slain. But he also added, 'Mahomet is his prophet.' This was the crowning-note of his battle-cry; and this, our author may rest assured, was the key-note of his religion. This constituted his only quarrel with the Jews and Christians; and by this even Mr. Carlyle is led to doubt, whether it was true heroism or zeal for God that sharpened his scymitar. Since the days of Gibbon, it has been a growing fashion to transfer the pity due to martyrs to their persecutors and tyrants, and call it liberality. But so amiable and intelligent a writer as our author, ought to remember, that tenderness for oppressors is posthumous cruelty towards the oppressed.

In his survey of the relations of Paganism to Christianity, he notices, as we have already seen, the sacrifices of the heathen: and we naturally expected that he would have shown, how their wants of this kind were provided for in the great atoning sacrifice of the Son of God. But, instead of this, he would have the Pagans reminded of the self-denial, or spiritual sacrifice, which the gospel teaches us to offer. That Mr. Maurice believes in the atonement, we do not question: he casually speaks of Christ, with the devoutest feeling, as the Saviour and Redeemer, who has died for us and borne our sins; but he no where gives it the prominence which it claims, he no where

holds it forth as the great provision of divine mercy for those spiritual wants which the sacrifices of the heathen have so loudly expressed. Yet, what remedy is there for the woes of a dying world apart from this?

If, however, in this matter Mr. Maurice offer less than he should to the heathen; he goes much further in other respects to meet the prejudices of the world than Christianity warrants. Among the Buddhists and Brahmins there is a general notion of 'a twice-born man.' To meet them, therefore, at this point, he would not only proclaim among them the regenerating power of the Spirit of God, but insists that all our Englishmen who visit the East, should say, as 'their mothers have told them,' 'We are the twice-born men; men really and veritably born from above.' To meet the feelings of Jews and Mahometans, whose soldiers fought, and whose kings and caliphs reigned in the name of God, our kings, as the Lord's anointed, are to assume a spiritual as well as temporal authority; and our poor, swearing, drunken soldiers, whether at Sobraon or Waterloo, are to shoot and be shot, stab and be stabbed, in the name of God, and as the ministers of his will! But, surely in all this, our author is holding out to the world more to meet their prejudices than the gospel will make good. And, as too much is no compensation for too little in religion, we would seriously urge him, in his next edition, to blot out all this anti-Christian superfluity, to make room for what he has omitted respecting the Great Sacrifice for sin.

His vindication of Christian missions, from the charge of unnecessarily wounding the prejudices of the Hindoos, on the ground that, from the nature of their system, their prejudices are equally shocked by everything else which foreigners do in their country, is just and admirably expressed. But his apology for the men by whom the first British missionaries were denounced as 'apostates from the anvil and the loom,' whom the government were bound to persecute and crush, is like his tenderness for Mahomet, a waste of sympathy on the oppressor at the cost of the oppressed. Before he attempted their defence, our author ought surely to have considered, that the philanthropy which felt so acutely for heathen prejudices, but insulted so rudely and cruelly the holiest and tenderest feelings of British Christians; which, while whining over the wounded prejudices of the Hindoos, was robbing them of their country and homes; which was full of sympathy for the sensual and blood-stained orgies of the heathen, but not for the cry of burning widows, and poor helpless children in the jaws of crocodiles and sharks; the cry of suffering and blood, that from every ghaut, and shore, and meeting of the waters, was ascending hourly up to

heaven—such a philanthropy he ought surely to have considered as of too doubtful a character to merit his attempts to rescue it from the reprobation into which at length it has fallen.

Notwithstanding these blemishes, however, we again sincerely thank Mr. Maurice for his masterly publication; and earnestly recommend our readers, especially those connected with missions, to give it their serious attention.

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ART. III.—*Florentine History; from the Earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany.* By Henry Edward Napier, Captain in the Royal Navy, F.R.S. In Six Volumes. London: Edward Moxon.

OF all the republics of Italy, Florence, with the exception perhaps of Venice, presents the most attractive and singular history. It claims our attention not only from the startling interest which attaches to many portions of it, but from the light which it reflects upon the proceedings of surrounding states. We find Florence at first but the settlement of a few traders, gradually increasing in extent and resources, then freeing herself from foreign domination, and asserting her independence. This was effected by 'a self-governed nation of shopkeepers,' as Captain Napier properly calls them,—for even the nobles were eventually obliged to belong to a trade before they were eligible for public honours,—who not only earnestly sought their internal improvement, and the advancement of their commerce, but conducted with great ability their national affairs. In looking back, especially on the earlier period of her existence, while it is impossible to restrain a feeling of indignation and disgust at many of the acts of the government, of whatever parties composed, it is equally impossible not to admire the general wisdom which guided its proceedings. The glory of their country was the paramount object of the people; to it they sacrificed their wealth and lives; and were equally ready to furnish the means necessary for carrying on their ruinous and interminable wars, or, in the brief intervals of peace, to decorate their capital.

Internal union alone was wanting to make Florence the most powerful commonwealth of Italy; but from the time when the fascinations of the young Donati tempted Buondelmonte to heap dishonour on his friends—who, to avenge the insult, murdered him—the outbreaks of party factions, raged and



wasted her strength, and ended only with the extinction of her liberty. The people, in their battles with the nobles, fought not for equality, but for supremacy; and although, in the beginning of these disputes, the overbearing conduct of the aristocracy provoked the punishment with which they were visited, yet their subsequent treatment was as unjust as it was injurious to the welfare of Florence. The humiliation of their order tended greatly to the reduction of the military spirit of the country, and to the employment of strangers in its defence; who, having but one object—the hope of gain—cared little whether this was obtained from conquered enemies or from its own resources. In the contests between the nobles, no political principle was involved; the love of power and of domineering over their rivals was the end sought; and, under pretence of asserting some popular right, the nation was impoverished for the aggrandizement of a class. The main spring of Florentine existence was her commerce. Whatever of unity prevailed is attributable to the common interest of all in it. Trade being the only medium by which political office could be obtained embraced all ranks and orders. Her merchants were seen in every market of the world; their intelligence was everywhere acknowledged; and so universal was the estimate in which her citizens were held, that, in 1294, no less than twelve met, as ambassadors from as many different states, at Rome, to congratulate Boniface VIII. on his election. Prosperous indeed would have been her condition, had not wars and revolutions succeeded each other, and turned her history, for the most part, into a record of violence and outrage. So constantly was she engaged either in hostilities abroad or civil contentions at home, that merely to mention the more important events which affected her, would furnish no idea of the real state of her affairs—of the incessant agitations in which she was involved, and of the prudence and determination which surmounted the difficulties against which she had to contend. We prefer, therefore, to give our readers a somewhat continuous outline of the first portion of her history, rather than only notice the more eventful occurrences recorded in these volumes.

Of the early history of Florence, little is known. Its origin, that of its inhabitants and of its name, have been the subjects of multiplied conjecture and dispute. It is probable that it sprang from the adjacent city of Fiesole, the traders being able to bring small vessels as near to it as the present site of Florence. It thus became a depository for the produce, both national and foreign, intended for that city, and the residence of many of those who carried on traffic with it. Beyond the fact that Florence rapidly increased in population and resources, no au-

thentic history can be traced until the close of the eighth century. A tradition exists that it was destroyed by Totilla, an Italian of royal blood, about the year 542, and was rebuilt by Charlemagne. There seems good reason, however, for believing that this tradition is unfounded; and that the destruction, if any, did not exceed that of the walls and public buildings, after the then custom of the Lombards. Charlemagne, probably, restored these; and under his reign many families, which had retired into the country, returned to Florence, and a new form of government was instituted. To such an extent were walls and other defences required at this period, owing to the continued attacks of the Huns and Saracens, that scarcely a town, village, or convent, was without them. To these aggressions may be attributed the change which afterwards took place in the character of the people. When undisturbed by such assaults, and subject to a despotic government, self-reliance and patriotism were unknown; but when compelled actively to engage for their common safety, the citizens awoke to a sense of their importance; and through all classes an energy, which afterwards so greatly distinguished the Florentine people, was aroused.

The first important occurrence in Florentine history, and one of which various contradictory accounts are given, is the capture of the town of Fiesole. Under the emperor, Henry II., the extent and power of Florence had greatly advanced; partly caused by the emigration from Fiesole. Jealous, however, even of her declining condition, the Florentines resolved to master the town; but preferred to act by treachery rather than open defiance. Having concluded a truce by which mutual confidence was promoted, and the utmost freedom of intercourse held between the neighbouring towns, it was determined to surprise Fiesole on the festival of St. Romulus. The Florentine troops were divided into two parties, one of which, with their arms concealed, spread through the city, and gave signal to their comrades on the plain. Suddenly, the streets were filled with treacherous foes; to whom, after a vigorous defence from the citadel, the town surrendered. Fiesoline citizens were allowed either to retire to the country with their property, unmolested; or to reside at Florence with the rights of citizens. Many availed themselves of this privilege, and a considerable advantage thus accrued to the victors. It was impossible, however, that anything but discord should arise from such a union. From it, in fact, sprang the disturbances of which for so long a period Florence was the scene. Not many years after, the disputes between the church and the empire began, which, infamous in their origin, were the commencement of a long series of outbreaks, interrupted but by few intervals

of peace, until they were consummated in the unappeasable contests of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. The precise period at which Florence became an independent city is unknown; it is clear, however, that she was so at the commencement of the twelfth century, when she entered into a contract with the town of Pogna to defend it from all enemies, the emperor and his nuncios only excepted, without reference to the Empress Matilda, or any other superior. At this time the city was presided over by two consuls, but their number was afterwards increased to twelve. Another class of governors was subsequently instituted, more effectually to administer and enforce the laws, with the title of *Podestà*. This office was filled by a foreigner, and his election was for one year. Thus singular were the people's notions of liberty. They appointed strangers to the highest positions in the state, who were above all law, and were tyrants instead of protectors. During the Ghibeline ascendancy in 1250, however, this appointment was suppressed, and was succeeded by that of a *captain of the people*, whose duty it was to guard the rights and protect the interest of the citizens against the exactions of the nobles. It was soon perverted, and instead of advancing the welfare of the people, became part of the regular government. The tyranny to which the Florentines were subject did not prevent a vast increase in their strength and influence. To the neighbouring country population, and to their chiefs, she offered her shelter and the rights of citizenship, which in many cases were accepted; while those who refused to recognise her authority were reduced by force, and their castles seized or destroyed. With this accession of power arose a desire for further conquests; and two expeditions—one against Monte Orlando, for rejecting her offer of support, and the seizure of Prato, for similar reasons—quickly followed. This period saw the commencement of those disputes which for so many ages wasted the energies of Florence, made civil war a familiar thing, and impeded her progress in civilization; disputes which, destitute of all the palliating qualities of war, destroyed even the ordinary bonds of nature; relationship was no pledge for safety; and affection and duty were forgotten in the virulence of party contests.

At the death of Henry v., a diet assembled at Mentz to appoint his successor. The rival houses of Bavaria and Franconia had each supported their partizans; but, by the bishops' influence, Duke Lothario of Saxony was elected King of Germany. From these families sprang the Guelphs and Ghibelines, to whose mutual hatred the progress and peace of Italy and of Germany were for so long a period sacrificed. These names, however, were not the distinctive appellations of the two factions until A. D.



1210, when Otho IV. was dethroned by Innocent III. So deep was the rancour which prevailed between the hostile houses, that the slightest provocation was sufficient to cause an open rupture. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that the defeat of the Uberti at the annual election of consuls, by other powerful citizens, who for the first time opposed their nomination, should have been the occasion of a deadly outbreak. For many days the battle lasted, until the Uberti sought refuge in their towers, and prepared for future revenge. Their rivals also made ready, and aroused the people generally by denouncing the domineering influence of a few nobles to the injury of the community at large; while these protested against the republic of Florence being subject to the caprices of an oligarchy. The following extract refers to these transactions:—

‘It was not the simple movement of one great body against another; not the force of a government in opposition to the people; not the struggle of privilege and democracy, of poverty and riches, or starvation and repletion; but one universal burst of unmitigated anarchy. In the streets, lanes, and squares; in the courts of palaces and humbler dwellings, were heard the clang of arms, the screams of victims, and the gush of blood: the bow of the bridegroom launched its arrows into the very chambers of his young bride’s parents and relations; and the bleeding son, the murdered brother, or the dying husband, were the evening visitors of Florentine maids and matrons, and aged citizens. Every art was practised to seduce and deceive, and none felt secure even of their nearest and dearest relatives. In the morning a son left his paternal roof with undiminished love, and returned at evening a corpse, or the most bitter enemy! Terror and death were triumphant; there was no relaxation, no peace by day or night; the crash of the stone, the twang of the bow, the whizzing shaft, the jar of the trembling mangonel from tower and turret, were the dismal music of Florence, not only for hours and days, but months and years. Doors, windows, the jutting galleries and roofs, were all defended, and yet all unsafe: no spot was sacred, no tenement secure: in the dead of night, the most secret chambers, the very hangings, even the nuptial bed, itself, were often known to conceal an enemy.’—vol. i. p. 122.

For many years the records of Florence present us with little else than narrations of internal contentions, and of her expeditions against surrounding states; by which, owing to her prudent treatment of the conquered inhabitants, who were allowed to retain their own laws and customs, and whose subjection was merely nominal, she gained a considerable accession of influence and territory.

Amongst the Florentines, private quarrels were frequently the causes of public disturbances. An injury was never forgotten or

forgiven. No sooner had an insult, supposed or real, been offered to the chiefs of either faction, than the whole party were eager to punish the aggressor, and wipe out the stain by war. Of this, we have an illustration in the case of Buondelmonte de Buondelmonti; who, to adjust a dispute between Oddo Arrighi de' Fifianti and himself, agreed to marry his niece. Prior, however, to the time appointed for his marriage, he was sent for by the wife of Forese de' Donati, with the beauty of whose daughter he was so captivated, that, forgetting his plighted faith, he asked and obtained the promise of her love. Such contempt was not to be endured; and the Amidei, to whom his first betrothed belonged, resolved to take summary vengeance upon her betrayer. Easter morning, 1215, was fixed for the bridal. Young Buondelmonte, however, was doomed; and, on his way to the house of his expecting bride, the daggers of Oddo and his kinsmen ended his career. This murder disturbed the whole Florentine population, and preparations were everywhere made for the impending storm. The Guelphic leaders and adherents of the church took part with the Buondelmonti; whilst another portion of the people joined the Uberti, who were leaders of the Ghibelines, and partisans of the empire. The houses were fortified and armed; the towers again bristled with warlike engines; barricades were erected; and the people, with consternation, anticipated the future. Nor were their apprehensions unfounded. The demon of civil war, now loosed, raged with unprecedented horror, and continued with but little cessation for nearly thirty-three years, until 1248, when, instigated and assisted by Frederick II., the Ghibelines drove their enemies from Florence, and a public act declared them exiled. The triumph of the imperial party, however, was soon abused. By the destruction of towers, palaces, and even churches, which belonged to the rival faction, and by the exactions of the government, their rule became odious, and the people began to feel that the church would afford the only security for their independence and welfare.

At the death of the Emperor Frederick, an entire change in the administration of the government was effected. It was at this time that the office of 'Captain of the People' was first created; and the Guelphs, after an exile of two years, were recalled, although with lessened influence. The late revolution had destroyed the exclusive government of the nobles, and the people now shared in the administration of state affairs. With this change came a vast accession to the power and prosperity of Florence, and her influence became paramount throughout the greater part of Tuscany. Fortune still attended her, and the year 1254 saw the further conquests

of Volterra and Pisa; to distinguish which events it was called *Anno Vittorioso*. Four years later, however, she suffered defeat in an engagement with the Siennese, by whom inroads were continually made upon her territory, and who, since Montalcino had placed herself under the protection of their enemies, had not ceased to keep it in strict blockade. To avenge these insults, and, if possible, utterly to destroy the power of their rivals, a call for assistance was made throughout the Guelphic league; and speedily was it responded to.

'Lucca was quickly in the field; Prato, Pistoia, and San Miniato, poured out their troops; San Gimignano, and Colle of the Vale of Elsa, armed their battalions; Genoa and Bologna united their Guelphic banners on the banks of the Arno; Modena was not lukewarm in the cause, and the more distant plains of Lombardy sent their squadrons across the Apennines to enrol themselves under the standard of Florence. Besides these, Arezzo and Orvieto were in full movement; and even Perugia is said to have joined in this formidable armament. Visconte of Campiglia, and Aldobrandino of Santa Fiore, mustered their vassals, and lent a willing hand to destroy the power that curbed their greatness; and Count Guido Guerra, although against the war, had already assembled his followers, not indisposed to break a lance with his Ghibeline kinsman, the chief of the Florentine exiles. His was the auxiliary force. In Florence, eight hundred men at arms, all nobles or rich citizens, pranced through her streets and arrayed themselves under the republican standard, while six hundred foreign veterans were already in their saddles quietly awaiting the orders of their chief. Heavy armed infantry, with ponderous bucklers, slender lances, and helmets of burnished steel; archers, cross-bowmen, and irregulars, poured from successive streams, from the six divisions of the capital, each under its banner and peculiar chief; nor was there a single family in Florence, whether noble, popular, or plebeian, but sent forth one or two of its sons to try their spirit in the coming war, on foot or horseback, according to its power and opulence. The *Martinella* was still tolling when the Red Carroccio, the military Palladium, rolled heavily from the precincts of the Baptistry to its war-station in the centre of the Mercato-nuovo. The last hours of August witnessed these two '*pomps*' of the Florentines move slowly over the Arno amidst the shouting of a multitude, which gazed with pride, but for the last time, on that veteran banner which, for ten successive years, had led them on to victory. The rear-guard soon cleared the town, and all the army was then seen winding amongst the hills in full march to the enemy's capital.'—Ib. pp. 243—244.

The Florentines and their allies, to the number of nearly 40,000, encamped upon the hill of Monteaperto. The battle which ensued, owing to bad generalship and Ghibeline treachery,



ended in the total defeat of the allied troops, with the loss of 2,500 killed, besides the wounded and prisoners. This disaster fell heavily upon Florence.

'The gates were closed, the shops and houses shut, and men looked sad and silent at each other; fugitives flocked in hourly, but brought no hope; despair in their heart, and death in their aspect; a downward glance on their bloody garments was the only reply to loud and frantic inquiries; the widow, the orphan, the sister, and the promised bride, had no other comfort; but to the graver questions of bearded men they sorrowfully answered, 'It is not for them who have bravely died in battle for their country's cause you should weep, but for us who have survived the conflict; *they* have fallen with glory as soldiers, but we are spared only to become the objects of scorn and mockery to our bitterest foes.'

So fatal was the effect of this defeat upon the remaining citizens, that the Guelphic families, not only of Florence, but, with one exception, of the allied towns, retired to Lucca and Bologna. Still a deep, though for some time unobserved, attachment to the Guelphic faction existed; and but a few years after, we find Count Guido Novello—who, since the battle of Monteperto, had ruled with almost despotic power in Florence, inviting two members of a newly-appointed order of religious knighthood—one a Guelph, the other a Ghibeline—jointly to assume the office of Podestà. By them, with the assent of the people, were elected a deliberative council of thirty-six citizens, who passed measures in which the Count was neither consulted nor considered. One of the advantages secured to the citizens was the right of the '*arts*,' or '*trades*,' to assemble in arms whenever their interest might require it, a measure which afterwards proved of infinite service to the popular cause. The nobles, dreading the growing influence of the democratic party, and adverse to the measures enacted by the council, began openly to complain. In this they were encouraged by Guido, and by his advice collected their friends and retainers, whilst he increased the number of his troops by reinforcements from neighbouring towns to 1,500 men. The newly-appointed senate, having refused the additional supplies demanded for their support, soon found themselves at war with the chiefs. The people, however, triumphed; and Count Guido, six years after his proud entry into Florence, left it in dismay. A new government was organized by the citizens, who generously determinated that the gates of the city should be left open to receive the exiles to whichever party they belonged; and, to consolidate the peace, numerous marriages between members of the rival houses were celebrated. But the hatred of the factions for each other was not subdued.

The Guelphs could neither forget nor forgive their six years' banishment, and a fresh outbreak soon broke up the hollow truce, and ended in the defeat of the Ghibelines. Another scheme of government succeeded, and to Charles of Anjou was offered the sovereignty of Florence for ten years, which, with some modifications, he accepted. The dissensions between the Guelphs and Ghibelines, however, still continued, although many attempts at pacification were made. To these may be added the not unfrequent feuds between members of the same party.

An interval of peace succeeded; and in 1285 the population of Florence had so much increased, that a new circuit of walls was necessary, the old city being but the centre of a larger town. Never had such prosperity been enjoyed. The disputes between the citizens had been forgotten in the succession of wars in which they had been engaged, and the historians of the period enlarge upon the happiness and festivity which prevailed. This condition of affairs, however, was made an occasion by the nobles for renewing their aggressions. No sooner were they free from external foes, than they made enemies of each other. Not only were private families at war with others, but sometimes amongst themselves. To such contentions the people were indebted for their liberty. The nobles had re-enacted their character of tyrants, and their exactions had been submitted to from the conviction that resistance would be useless. The judges were afraid duly to administer the laws. Even the senate and its enactments were disregarded. Murmurs and discontents were everywhere heard, but for some time no one ventured to attempt a change. At length, Giano della Bella, a patrician, but friendly to popular government, having harangued the populace on the evils to which they were subject, a commission was appointed to report upon the alterations necessary for the equal course of justice. The changes which ensued were, as in similar cases they generally are, excessive, and as unjust as the conduct of which the people had complained. Not only were the nobles excluded from any part in the government, but all families any members of which enjoyed the degree of knighthood; whilst, to ensure the safety of any citizen having a charge against the nobles, a box was placed at the residences of the Podestà and Captain of the People, into which it might be placed. Incensed at their loss of power, and the control to which they were subject, the nobles entertained for the reformer the most bitter hatred, and gladly availed themselves of his unpopularity amongst some of the lower citizens, with whose dishonest practices he had interfered, to excite in their minds a similar feeling. How well they succeeded shortly appeared. The Podestà, having unjustly condemned one of the parties in

a feud in which his servant was killed, was denounced by the populace, who hurried to his palace, destroyed everything in it, and shouted death to the Podestà. Giano della Bella, hoping to appease their anger, hastily repaired to the spot. His intercession, however, was unavailing; and for his own safety he was compelled to retire. New Priors were immediately chosen, and Della Bella was accused of instigating the tumult, which, at the hazard of his life, he had endeavoured to subdue. He was condemned, and died in exile! Such was the reward of a man who, though not free from faults, had raised the people to a higher position and influence in the state than they had ever before attained; and this, too, in a republic.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of Florence was greatly advanced by the continuance of peace. New churches, hospitals, and aqueducts, were constructed; and a revision of their laws was undertaken by a committee appointed by the citizens. This tranquillity, with the exception of an occasional outbreak between the nobles and the people, without which the Florentines were not long contented, continued until 1300, when it was terminated by a quarrel between two neighbouring families. Near the houses of the Donati and Pazzi lived the Cerchi, of low extraction, but whose wealth procured for them more authority than the illustrious descent of their aristocratic neighbours could secure. Unable quietly to endure the growing influence of their plebeian rivals, whom they both dreaded and despised, and being joined by the leaders of the Neri faction—who, in consequence of their disputes with the Bianchi in Pistoia, had been banished with the chiefs of the other party to Florence—they sought an opportunity for revenge. In the meantime, the Cerchi were strengthened by the adherence of the Bianchi; and the city was soon divided into two parties, without reference to politics, under the titles of Neri and Bianchi, or Black and White factions. The constant encounters and disputes between these factions were not confined to Florence, and were attended with varied success. At length, by the influence of Corso Donati, Charles of Valois, whose bias in favour of the Neri he well knew, offered his mediation; his real object being to obtain the government of a city so wealthy as Florence. This was accepted. His first act was to deceive the Priors, and to replace the Florentine guards by Frenchmen. Although treachery was suspected, the government was timid and irresolute, and little was done to prepare for the coming contest. To settle the differences between the Neri and Bianchi, Charles proposed that the chiefs of each party should be handed over to him that he might effectually do justice between them. To this the Neri willingly consented; but the Bianchi only because they were



unable to resist. The former were instantly released ; the latter he ' kept that night without straw or mattress, like condemned criminals.' On this, the Priors resigned ; and the Black Faction triumphed. Outrage and murder followed. The property of the Bianchi was seized, their daughters married by force for their inheritance, and their sons killed. A series of engagements between the Bianchi and their more fortunate rivals ensued. The aggressions, however, of the latter upon the liberties of the citizens were so oppressive, that, about A.D. 1307, the people, from having been the victims of tyranny, became, when the opportunity presented itself, by an almost universal rule, the tyrants. Various changes were made in the constitution, having for their object the increase of popular influence. A new officer, under the title of the ' Executor of the Ordinances of Justice,' was appointed, whose principal duty was to enforce the punishment of any noble for offences against the citizens ; and these, discarding the denominations of Neri and Bianchi, by which they had been distinguished, adopted the appellation of ' The Good Guelphic People.' The comparative quietness which succeeded these events was soon disturbed, and the tumult was directed to another and a different quarter :—to the man who had been the leader of his party—to whose skill they owed their success, but whose restless ambition now became the source of apprehension, and his party, to secure themselves, determined to sacrifice him. Availing themselves of the temporary suspension of warfare, some of the leading houses in the Black Faction, alarmed at the growing influence of Corso Donati, and envious of the unequalled splendour in which he lived, made his marriage with the daughter of Ugucione della Faggiola, chief of the Romagna Ghibelines, a pretext for asserting his aim at supreme authority. This accusation made a strong impression upon the mind of the populace, who, once distrustful of their leader, cared only for the overthrow of his power. Having refused to answer the charge of ' conspiring to overthrow the liberties of his country, and endeavouring to make himself tyrant of Florence,' he was condemned to lose his head, as a ' rebel and a traitor to the commonwealth.' The haste exhibited in his trial was shown also in the intended execution of its sentence. The whole civic force at once proceeded to his palace, where, unaided, he gallantly defended himself. Overcome by numbers, he attempted flight, but was interrupted by some Catalonian troopers, whose lances ended a life to which his country owed much both of good and evil.

Not long after, the military spirit hitherto so paramount in Florence declined. Amongst the Italian states the system of hiring mercenary troops had gradually increased, and the mili-

tary profession, consequently, was less respected. In addition to this, the ransom required for a Florentine so much exceeded that of any other Italian soldier, that they the more readily acquiesced in the employment of these hirelings. This decline was greatly hastened by the failure of their attempts to raise the siege of Montecatini in 1315, in which fourteen hundred of the highest families, and many of their nobles, perished. Crippled, however, in resources, and the energy of the people thus lessened, it was not long before Florence was again called to action; and her ancient spirit re-appeared. Her condition had been improved by the settlement of internal discords, and after assisting King Robert in his defence of Genoa, she was involved in a long and serious war with Castruccio Castracani. This general having been actively engaged with the Ghibeline party at the battle of Montecatini, was afterwards invested with the government of the Lucchese. To him it was represented that the Florentines, with the Pope and the King of Naples, had invited Philip of Valois into Lombardy as imperial vicar, to act against the Ghibelines and himself, for having aided the Genoese exiles. Hostilities were soon commenced, and continued from 1320 to 1328, in which year he died. So destructive to Florence were these expeditions, that in 1325, her resources being exhausted, and weakened by the loss of many of her chief families and the ravages of disease amongst the people, she sacrificed her independence for assistance, and Charles, Duke of Calabria, was appointed to the lordship of Florence for ten years. As a soldier he was inferior to Castruccio, who gained several advantages over the magnificent army under his command. Nor did their internal affairs prosper during his rule. He claimed supreme power, appointed every public officer, and assumed the right of restoring exiles and rebels even in opposition to the laws; hence his government became obnoxious to the people. Happily for the Florentines he did not long survive Castruccio. By his death they were enabled to retrench the enormous expenses to which he had subjected them, and to remodel their constitution. A short interval of peace, spent in preparing for future wars, was succeeded by an attack upon Lucca which eventually proved unsuccessful. Pistoia afterwards requested the Florentines to assume the temporary government of their city, which under the guise of voluntary subjection continued ever after. Florence soon recovered her position and energy. With the exception of Lucca, every state in Tuscany acknowledged her as an ally or sovereign, and a prosperity unequalled since the close of the thirteenth century gladdened the people. Their naturally gay and joyous disposition was again in action and filled the city with festivity and

mirth. Not long, however, did their happiness continue. No enemy came upon them, no internal discord again deluged the city with blood, nor did a foreign governor extort and oppress. The impending calamity was of a different order. The Arno burst its banks and nearly destroyed the city. We must give our author's description of the scene :—

‘ On the first day of November, 1333, the heavens seemed suddenly to open, and pour down an incessant stream of water for ninety-six hours successively, not only without diminution but in augmented volume: continued sheets of fire with sharp and vivid flashes struck from the clouds, while peals of thunder bellowed through the gloom, darting bolt after bolt into the earth, and impressing on mankind the awful feeling of universal ruin.

‘ The natural and superstitious fears of the people were painfully excited, and all the church and convent bells were tolled to conjure the spirit of the storm: men and women were seen clambering on slender planks from roof to roof amidst falling tiles, crying aloud for mercy with such an unusual din as almost to drown the deeper tones of distant thunder, and realize the idea of chaos or the infernal regions of their own great poet. The first burst of the Arno, even near its source, broke over rocks, and woods, and banks, and fields, and deluged the green plains of Casentino; then sweeping in broad and spreading sheets over those of Arezzo, flooded all the upper Val-d’Arno, and with mighty force bore off mills, and barns, and granaries, in its course, with every human habitation and all that it contained, animate and inanimate, like weightless things. Trees were uprooted, cattle destroyed, men, women, and children suffocated, the soil washed clean away, and the dark torrent thus unnaturally loaded came roaring down on Florence. The tributary Sieve, after swamping its native vales, rushed madly down, with the soil of half a province on its wave, and swelled the bounding Arno; the Africa, the Mensola, every common ditch, now changed to torrents, gave force and danger to the flood which rolled its angry surges towards the capital.

‘ On the 4th of November, 1333, the whole plain of Saint Salvi was covered to the depth of twelve, sixteen, and even twenty feet; the waters mounted high against wall and tower, and swept round Florence like the tide on a stranded ship. For a while the ramparts withstood this pressure, but presently the antiport of Santa Croce gave way; then the main gate; then the Porta Renaiia; and then night set in: but with it was heard the crash of falling towers and the onward rush of the water, which, still unchecked, swept wavy, broad, and cold, over the ill-fated town. Two hundred and fifty feet of the walls had been crushed by the enormous pressure; the red columns of San Giovanni were half buried in the flood: it deluged the cathedral, encompassed the altar of Santa Croce, measured twelve feet in the court of the Bargello, sapped the shrines of the Badia; covered almost all



the rest of the city four feet deep, and even beat on the first step of the public palace, the loftiest ground in Florence.

'The town beyond Arno was scarcely less submerged; nearly a thousand feet of the ramparts fell, and the wear, then above Ponte Carraia, was entirely destroyed; this brought instant ruin on the bridge itself, which all except two arches was buried in the wave; that of La Trinità as quickly followed; then the Ponte Vecchio, its shops and houses, gold and jewellery, went down in masses; Rubaconte stood in part, but the indignant waters, overleaping a lateral arch, shattered the solid quay and dashed against the palace-castle of Altafronte, and this with such fury as to bring down that solid mansion, and most of the houses as far as Ponte Vecchio, in one continuous ruin. The statue of Mars, the rude witness of Buondelmonte's death, tumbled headlong from its base into the tide below, and disappeared for ever. . . . . The whole line of houses between the bridges, with many more on every side, next fell, like the walls of Jericho before the sacred trumpets; nothing but lightning and devastation met the eye, nothing but hideous shrieks, the crash of houses, the roar of waters and dismal peals of thunder struck the ear; in what this awful scene would have ended seemed evident, had not a startling crash, with the fall of near nine hundred feet of the western ramparts, opened a wider vent for the waters and saved Florence from destruction.'—pp. 546, 549.

Incredible as it may appear, the day after the waters had subsided an attempt at a revolution was made by certain noble families! Such was the temper of the Florentines. Their attention was soon absorbed by the Lombard war, which, having continued nearly three years, was closed by a peace unproductive of any adequate return for their expenditure and assistance.

To it succeeded an expedition to Lucca, the siege of which they were unable to raise. The repeated mishaps and ultimate failure of this war filled the Florentines with indignation and distrust, and a change in the administration, which resulted in the appointment of Walter de Brienne, as '*Captain and Conservator of the People*,' and afterwards in his assumption of absolute power, was demanded. His tyranny, however, soon turned the popularity which obtained for him this eminence into the deepest hatred; and the people, who to free themselves from the misguidance of others, had invested a despot with supreme power, now sought to rid themselves of their oppressor. Not long afterwards the cry of 'Death to the tyrant' was heard in the streets, and his life was saved at the price of his renunciation of all authority over Florence. A long series of misfortunes followed. For more than thirty years, wars, scarcity, floods, and fires, desolated this unhappy city; and in 1348 these calamities were consummated by the horrors of the plague, with

which it was again visited in 1653. About this latter date the Florentines were confronted with a new enemy. One whose military skill and powers of endurance far exceeded those of any other soldiers to whom they had been opposed, and whose indifference to the changes of the season astonished them. A party of English soldiers, accustomed to constant service in the long wars between France and England, and commanded by Sir John Hawkwood, who served in them during the reign of Edward the Third, joined the Pisan forces, the command of which was intrusted to the English general. Two campaigns in the Florentine territory closed, after many engagements in which success alternated between the rival forces, by the loss of five hundred men at arms, and two thousand wounded, on the part of the Pisan army, without any decided advantage having been gained. Scarcely had their enemy retired, before the Florentines determined on revenging the injuries they had lately sustained, and a mixed force under De Montfort ravaged the Pisan territory to within three miles of the capital, which they would have attacked, had not a band of fourteen hundred mercenaries arrived in Pisa seeking employment. Their subsequent operations afford a curious illustration of the spirit of the age, and of the change which had taken place in the chivalrous feeling which once regulated their military proceedings. The time for which the Germans and English had been engaged by the Pisan government having nearly expired, the former were bribed with forty-four thousand, and the latter by seventy thousand florins, not to act against Florence for five months, but to ravage the Siennese states instead. Hawkwood, and about a thousand English, however, were not involved in this arrangement. An engagement between the Pisan and Florentine armies shortly occurred, in which the former, still under the orders of Sir John Hawkwood, were completely routed. The enormous expenses occasioned by this continual warfare tended to neutralise the hatred which existed between the belligerents, added to which the insubordination of the Florentine army, and the distrust of their general, Malatesta, created a universal desire for peace. Similar feelings being entertained by the Pisans, a commission was appointed to settle their differences, and a treaty was arranged which restored to Florence her ancient mercantile privileges, and gave her a tribute of ten thousand florins yearly for ten years. These, however, were a poor compensation for the expenses of the war, and the devastation of the country.

An interesting portion of history succeeds these events, embracing the three years' war which, at the head of many

other cities, Florence sustained against the Pope. It originated in the hatred felt for the French priests, whose cupidity and tyranny had exasperated the people, and who aimed at nothing less than the extinction of liberty in Italy, and ended by the appointment of the Bishop of Bari, an Italian, to the Papedom under the title of Urban VI. Twelve years of freedom from external war ensued, but during this period internal dissensions continually prevailed, and the power and reputation of Florence were greatly lessened. At its termination, and for nearly an equal time, she was engaged in war with Gian-Galeazzo Visconte, into which she entered as the guardian of her own and of Italian liberty. This was the greatest enterprise she had ever undertaken, and, after sustaining various severe losses and defeats, she was only saved by his death, which took place in 1402, as is alleged from the effects of poison.

Our space is filled, and we must close with one or two remarks. We have seen somewhat of the troubles through which Florence passed. She was perpetually engaged either in the field, or in domestic conflicts. These disturbances, however, served to arouse the mental energies of the people, and to the discussions which ensued may be greatly attributed that spirit of political freedom, far from perfect indeed, but yet the forerunner of a brighter and nobler inheritance, which existed, and the progress which she made in the path of civilization. Captain Napier has done full justice to his task. He has accomplished it with honour to himself, and great advantage to the reader of history. His style is vigorous and graphic, and often eloquent. His sympathies are with the people rather than their rulers, and whilst denouncing that worst of all tyranny which is often masked in the guise of freedom, he is always the advocate and admirer of popular advancement and real liberty. Further examination has confirmed the opinion we expressed, when the first volume only had appeared, of the strict impartiality which he has observed; such a quality being the more valuable in a work on Italian history, since most of the native writers have been the advocates of a party rather than the investigators of truth, and have cared little for transmitting an imperfect record of the events they pretended to narrate, so long as their end was gained by the bias their works were intended to give. From all such influence Captain Napier is free. Intimately acquainted with the annals of the country he describes, he has examined the writings of her historians without contamination from their prejudices, and brings to bear upon their conflicting statements an independent and acute judgment; while the results of his researches, whether of men or measures, are stated in an open and fearless manner. He has deeply



studied not only the political and constitutional history of Italy, but the less obtrusive and more silent progress of peaceable institutions and social changes; and not content with the development of those occurrences which absorb the attention and involve the interests of nations, has traced the effect which such transactions have upon the affairs of ordinary life. This history of Florence is in every way worthy of the gallant author; and we trust he will realise an adequate reward for the talent and time expended in its production.

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ART. IV.—1. *Lucretia; or, the Children of Night*. By the Author of *Rienzi*, etc. Saunders and Otley.

2. *A Word to the Public*. By the Author of *Lucretia*, &c.

3. *Tancred; or, The New Crusade*. By Benjamin Disraeli. Colburn.

'LUCRETIA' and 'Tancred' are, and are likely to continue, the most memorable fictions of the season of 1847. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton has long been one of the few writers of the day, each of whose works must be read, whether for applause or condemnation, by every one who has the slightest pretensions to a knowledge of this age and generation. Mr. Disraeli has, of late years, after publishing half a score, perhaps, of forgotten poems and ephemeral novels, secured for himself the general attention of the public, and just at present everybody must be acquainted with 'Coningsby,' 'Sybil,' and 'Tancred.'

There is not a more curious figure in the public life of England at this hour than is this Mr. Benjamin Disraeli. He is as prominent as anybody. No man is more remarkable. We have had our eyes upon him for many years, and are not sure that all the elements of his complex character are yet visible to us. Of course the common view of him is obvious enough, which regards him as a disappointed, renegade, and satirical Jew. But what has not been noticed is, that he has no genius apart from his satire. Genius is new and reproductive individuality. The genius of Mr. Disraeli is a sting. In nothing he writes and in nothing he says, is there genius, apart from the inspiration of disparagement. His intellect is of a very ordinary calibre among literary and public men. He has absolutely no argumentative power, and only a small acquaintance with the forms and shows of ratiocination. During the discussions on the corn-laws, he indulged in occasional dips into the depths of economical science. On these occasions he reminded us of a sea-gull, such a one as we have often seen when sailing off the rocky Scotch east coast, and looking through the green crystal waves far

down upon the many-hued and marvellously beautiful ocean flowers—a sea-gull, which generally skims, hovers, whirls, and screeches over the surface, and dips only to gratify a temporary appetite, and seize a defenceless prey. Of the science of economics not only had he no knowledge, but he obviously had no capacity for knowing it. On one occasion he tried to deviate from sarcasm into argument. But he has no power even of sophistry. His apparently argumentative compositions are to logical arguments what wax work figures are to living men. He talked about ‘fighting hostile tariffs with free imports,’ in a way which showed ignorance of the meaning of both phrases, and quoted the authority of Mr. John Stuart Mill in opposition to free trade! Though weak in reasoning, he was powerful in invective, and won a place in history for himself by his *Peelippics*. We shall leave to historians their own work of estimating his conduct, content with recording the fact that many of his contemporaries saw a great statesman doing a great public service, bravely and skillfully, amidst a coil of difficulties which noble motives alone could have prompted him to encounter, and enabled him to surmount, and all the while subject to the assaults of an unusually splendid gadfly. People remembered that Mr. Disraeli had been a radical candidate for Marylebone, and beheld, with amazement, his performances in the character of the Tory prophet of party consistency!

All the productions of Mr. Disraeli have excited a slight sensation, on their first publication, and all are dead, with the exception of a few of his sarcasms, which will live with the memory of these times. His assertion that Sir Robert Peel had caught the Whigs bathing, and walked away with their clothes, embodied a general opinion in a shape so witty, that it will long be remembered. Every one acquainted with the history of free trade knows that the politicians of the school of Pitt long preceded the politicians of the school of Fox, in the adoption of economical truths. Peel was a free trader a quarter of a century ago, when Russell was a protectionist. Still though false, the sarcasm will live, because there is wit in the composition of it. If critics, like kings, had the power of prescribing armorial bearings, we should assign to Mr. Disraeli for his crest, a sting. There is a force in the sarcasms of Mr. Disraeli superior to all our other satirists. This Jew is full of the bitterness with which persecution has imbued his race. He vilifies with the fervour of a Shylock, who has been robbed not of his daughter, but of his career. His audacity is brilliant. Aware of the fascination of personality for the mob of readers, he has made novels, with public men of the day for characters, and speeches, in which the most eminent of statesmen was a constant dish, served up in a

variety of sauces, for the entertainment of the public. Scarcely any writer who has tried it, has been disappointed in obtaining readers by means of the prurient appetite for personal details, respecting distinguished personages; and often as he had been unsuccessful, Mr. Disraeli at last succeeded, where few have failed. By making a great minister his butt, the coughed and laughed-at orator obtained the ear of the House. By making living personages his characters, the contributor of novels to the dust of the shelves of the libraries, produced fictions which were eagerly and extensively read. But this success is neither legislative nor literary fame. Excepting always a few sarcasms, Mr. Benjamin Disraeli has created nothing; he has discovered no truths, he has expounded no science, he has presented our imaginations with no characters, and nowhere made evil give way to good. A convert from the liberal opinions of his youth to the superstitions of the sinister interests of the upper classes, from light to darkness, his genius has been confined to a region and an atmosphere favourable only to the production of venom. Consequently he stings from the heart. Ready to take up any cry by which fame might be won,—sympathy for the poor, in 'Sybil,' or the want of romantic faith, in 'Tancred,'—he is never thoroughly in earnest, and hence never generative and creative, except when giving utterance to his scorn.

However, in truth and justice, be it observed, the scorn of Mr. Disraeli is not mean or base. If fired by disappointment, it was not an ignoble ambition which was crushed by the matter-of-fact caution of the conservative premier. Had Sir Robert Peel been a greater man than he is, he would have enlisted this extraordinary satirist on the side of his patriotic ameliorations. With larger views of men, and better judgment in choosing help, Sir Robert would have engaged this parliamentary sting on the side of economical truth.

We are grateful to 'Tancred' for having enabled us to feel an emotion of respect for its author. His perseverance, energy, and accomplishments, are unquestionable. But these are not his worthiest qualities. What we like best is his boasting pride and scorn as a Jew. We like and respect the intensity of his feeling for his race,—his contempt for the flat-nosed Franks, and his exultation in the achievements of the seed of Abraham. This is all full of manhood. His pride and his scorn are real. Brooding over the history of the Jews, and glorying in the grand and divine deeds of his race, need we wonder if he should come to deem, even a brave and useful, Sir Robert Peel fit only for scorn, as the representative of an age and generation of mediocrities and utilities? Audacious, self-reliant, and defiant in his spirit, no modesty within him seems to have prompted



the query, 'But is scorn the right feeling from *me* to *him*, considering what he is, and what I am?' Mr. Benjamin Disraeli is the most prominent Jew in political and literary life, and there is something mournful in the fact that his inspiration is bitterness, and his Helicon the well of Marah.

'Tancred' is the eldest son of an English duke of the present day, who has the good sense to see that his order exists only on sufferance, and the excellent frankness to tell his old-fashioned parents his doubts whether the constitution of England is worthy of any more defence. He thinks there is more feasibility in going to the Holy Land in search of a new revelation. The youth is delayed in London during the railway mania of 1845, and his feelings are played upon by a married lady of rank, who professes to share his Judean enthusiasm, but is an intense speculator in railways. On receiving the news of the triumph of the broad gauge, she faints, and Tancred, disenchanted, is off for Palestine.

The best passage in the first volume is a character of Charles James, Bishop of London.

'About the time of the marriage of the Duchess of Bellamont, her noble family, and a few of their friends, some of whom also believed in the millennium, were persuaded that the conversion of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland to the true faith, which was their own, was at hand. They had subscribed very liberally for the purpose, and formed an amazing number of sub-committees. As long as their funds lasted, their missionaries found proselytes. It was the last desperate effort of a church that had from the first betrayed its trust. Twenty years ago, statistics not being so much in vogue, and the people of England being in the full efflorescence of that public ignorance which permitted them to believe themselves the most enlightened nation in the world, the Irish 'difficulty' was not quite so well understood as at the present day. It was then an established doctrine, that all that was necessary for Ireland was more Protestantism, and it was supposed to be not more difficult to supply the Irish with Protestantism than it had proved, in the instance of a recent famine (1822), to furnish them with potatoes. What was principally wanted in both cases were—subscriptions.

'When the English public, therefore, were assured by their co-religionists on the other side of St. George's Channel, that at last the good work was doing, that the flame spread, even rapidly—that not only parishes but provinces were all agog—and that both town and country were quite in a heat of proselytism, they began to believe that at last the scarlet lady was about to be dethroned; they loosened their purse-strings; fathers of families contributed their zealous five pounds, followed by every other member of the household, to the babe in arms, who subscribed its fanatical five shillings. The affair looked well. The journals teemed with lists of proselytes and cases

of conversion ; and even orderly, orthodox people, who were firm in their own faith, but wished others to be permitted to pursue their errors in peace, began to congratulate each other on the prospect of our at last becoming a united Protestant people.

‘ In the blaze and thick of the affair, Irish Protestants jubilant, Irish Papists denouncing the whole movement as fraud and trumpery, John Bull perplexed, but excited, and still subscribing, a young bishop rose in his place in the House of Lords, and, with a vehemence there unusual, declared that he saw ‘ the finger of God in this second Reformation,’ and, pursuing the prophetic vein and manner, denounced ‘ woe to those who should presume to lift up their hands and voices in vain and impotent attempts to stem the flood of light, that was bursting over Ireland.’

‘ In him, who thus plainly discerned ‘ the finger of God ’ in transactions in which her family and feelings were so deeply interested, the young and enthusiastic Duchess of Bellamont instantly recognised the ‘ man of God ;’ and, from that moment the right reverend prelate became, in all spiritual affairs, her infallible instructor, although the impending second Reformation did chance to take the untoward form of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, followed in due season by the destruction of Protestant bishoprics, the sequestration of Protestant tithes, and the endowment of Maynooth.

‘ In speculating on the fate of public institutions and the course of public affairs, it is important that we should not permit our attention to be engrossed by the principles on which they are founded and the circumstances which they present, but that we should also remember how much depends upon the character of the individuals who are in the position to superintend or to direct them.

‘ The Church of England, mainly from its deficiency of oriental knowledge, and from a misconception of the priestly character which has been the consequence of that want, has fallen of late years into great straits ; nor has there ever been a season when it has more needed for its guides men possessing the higher qualities both of intellect and disposition. About five-and-twenty years ago, it began to be discerned that the time had gone by, at least in England, for bishoprics to serve as appanages for the younger sons of great families. The Arch-Mediocrity who then governed this country, and the mean tenor of whose prolonged administration we have delineated in another work, was impressed with the necessity of reconstructing the episcopal bench on principles of personal distinction and ability. But his notion of clerical capacity did not soar higher than a private tutor who had suckled a young noble into university honours ; and his test of priestly celebrity was the decent editorship of a Greek play. He sought for the successors of the apostles, for the stewards of the mysteries of Sinai and Calvary, among third-rate hunters after syllables. These men, notwithstanding their elevation, with one exception, subsided into their native insignificance ; and during our agitated age, when the principles of all institutions, sacred and secular, have been called in question ; when, alike in the senate and the market-place, both the doctrine and the

discipline of the church have been impugned, its power assailed, its authority denied, the amount of its revenues investigated, their disposition criticised, and both attacked; not a voice has been raised by these mitred nullities, either to warn or to vindicate; not a phrase has escaped their lips or their pens, that ever influenced public opinion, touched the heart of nations, or guided the conscience of a perplexed people. If they were ever heard of, it was that they had been pelted in a riot.

‘The exception which we have mentioned to their sorry careers, was that of the too adventurous prophet of the second Reformation; the ductor dubitantium appealed to by the Duchess of Bellamont, to convince her son that the principles of religious truth, as well as of political justice, required no further investigation—at least by young marquesses.

‘The ready audacity with which this right reverend prelate had stood sponsor for the second Reformation is a key to his character. He combined a great talent for action with very limited powers of thought. Bustling, energetic, versatile, gifted with an indomitable perseverance, and stimulated by an ambition that knew no repose, with a capacity for mastering details and an inordinate passion for affairs, he could permit nothing to be done without his interference, and consequently was perpetually involved in transactions which were either failures or blunders. He was one of those leaders who are not guides. Having little real knowledge, and not endowed with those high qualities of intellect which permit their possessor to generalize the details afforded by study and experience, and so deduce rules of conduct, his lordship, when he received those frequent appeals which were the necessary consequence of his officious life, became obscure, confused, contradictory, inconsistent, illogical. The oracle was always dark. Placed in a high post in an age of political analysis, the bustling intermeddler was unable to supply society with a single solution. Enunciating secondhand, with characteristic precipitation, some big principle in vogue, as if he were a discoverer, he invariably shrank from its subsequent application, the moment that he found it might be unpopular and inconvenient. All his quandaries terminated in the same catastrophe—a compromise. Abstract principles with him ever ended in concrete expediency. The aggregate of circumstances outweighed the isolated cause. The primordial tenet, which had been advocated with uncompromising arrogance, gently subsided into some second-rate measure recommended with all the artifice of an impenetrable ambiguity.

‘Beginning with the second Reformation, which was a little rash but dashing, the bishop, always ready, had in the course of his episcopal career placed himself at the head of every movement in the church which others had originated, and had as regularly withdrawn at the right moment, when the heat was over, or had become, on the contrary, excessive. Furiously evangelical, soberly high and dry, and fervently Puseyite, each phasis of his faith concludes with what the Spaniards term a ‘transaction.’ The saints are to have their new churches, but they are also to have their rubrics and their canons;



the universities may supply successors to the apostles, but they are also presented with a church commission; even the Puseyites may have candles on their altars, but they must not be lighted.

'It will be seen, therefore, that his lordship was one of those characters not ill-adapted to an eminent station in an age like the present, and in a country like our own; an age of movement, but of confused ideas; a country of progress, but too rich to risk much change. Under these circumstances, the spirit of a period and a people seeks a safety-valve in—bustle. They do something, lest it be said that they do nothing. At such a time, ministers recommend their measures as experiments, and parliaments are ever ready to rescind their votes. Find a man who, totally destitute of genius, possesses nevertheless considerable talents; who has official aptitude, a volubility of routine rhetoric, great perseverance, a love of affairs; who, embarrassed neither by the principles of the philosopher nor by the prejudices of the bigot, can assume, with a cautious facility, the prevalent tone, and disembarass himself of it with a dexterous ambiguity, the moment it ceases to be predominant; recommending himself to the innovator by his approbation of change 'in the abstract,' and to the conservative by his prudential and practical respect for that which is established; such a man, though he be one of an essentially small mind, though his intellectual qualities be less than moderate, with feeble powers of thought, no imagination, contracted sympathies, and a most loose public morality;—such a man is the individual whom kings and parliaments would select to govern the State or rule the Church. Change, 'in the abstract,' is what is wanted by a people who are at the same time inquiring and wealthy. Instead of statesmen, they desire shufflers; and compromise in conduct and ambiguity in speech are—though nobody will confess it—the public qualities now most in vogue.'—Vol. i. pp. 140—150.

While this masterly satiric sketch is fresh in the public recollection, the Bishop has completed it in his own person. The Rev. Dr. Thorpe petitions the House of Lords against the decision of the bishop in refusing to license an Irish clergyman in his diocese. The bishop replies in effect:—'I do not thank Dr. Thorpe for bringing this matter forward,—if I refused to license his assistant, I have since offered to do it, and I refused in accordance with a rule—a rule which has existed for four and twenty years, which was never meant to be kept, and has been more frequently broken than kept.' Disraeli could not match the exquisite self-portraiture of this speech in which this prelate unconsciously reveals, that the licensing of Irish clergymen to officiate in London is a favour dependent on his caprice, and marvels that any one should find a grievance in the fact.

The gods of Olympus have still worshippers in Palestine. Perhaps the most curious passage in this novel, is the account

of the interview between Tancred and the Queen of the Ansarey, in which he explains his hope of a new religion or revelation being inspired in the Holy Land. There is a much more ambitious scene on Mount Sinai, but its sublimity is the sublimity of Vauxhall.

Sir E. Bulwer Lytton and Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, both make much of the accident or rather the incident of birth. Perhaps there is not any greater nonsense agog among clever people, than there is about what is called race. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton is all for the Normans, as splendid fellows. With far more reason Mr. Disraeli is wild for the Jews, as the race who have done the greatest things in the history of man. In reference to the Normans we have read all Sir Edward has ever said in their favour, and nothing remains except that they have made themselves the feudal aristocracy of Europe. But as we regard feudalism as a barbarous institution, without a single particle of civilization or beneficence in it, there is nothing noble to our eyes in such an achievement. From first to last feudalism has been the enemy of all goodness, and all truth, and all the best servants of mankind have been at war with it. Feudal aristocracy from the days of the conquest to the repeal of the corn-laws, has, in England, been an organization of rapacity, and a source of crime in society. The Norman castles are mouldering every where, and are not in a more dilapidated condition than the institution of which they are a portion and a symbol. But there is nothing but strength defending rapacity in the meaning of these castles; they were not sources of light to guide, nor of love to sweeten the dark and bitter lot of man. They were a magnificent organization of the Dick Turpins and Claudes du Val, of the middle ages, and nothing more—these proud Norman lords on whose genealogies Sir E. Bulwer Lytton is so eloquent. The greatest things of English civilization have all been done by men of Saxon names. A Caxton introduced printing; a Wicliffe and a Knox did the best part of the work of the Reformation; a Bacon expounded the method of Experimental Philosophy: in poetic art a Milton and a Shakspeare have made all the Normans that ever rhymed, poetasters in comparison; a Cromwell established religious liberty; and a Watt built the steam engine; and when in the last generation the French had subdued the most of Europe, they were beaten on behalf of England by a Wellesley on the land, and a Nelson on the sea! Statesmanship would seem to be a field in which the Normans had peculiar advantages, yet the superiority of the men of Saxon names has been manifest in almost every generation, from Thomas à Becket to Robert Peel.

Of course, if ever there was a race which did great things, the

Jews are the race. Of their achievements, as we feel this is not the place to write reverently, we shall not write at all. But, when so much is made of race, and writers are found who refer the mournful phenomena of Ireland itself, to this word, there is a necessity for submitting the truth that, this notion of race is little better than a delusion. There is no such thing as distinctions of race, if by race be meant the offspring of any other than the primal pair. An advanced physiology shews that there is nothing in the differences which obtain among the various races of mankind, which may not be accounted for by climate, habits, and institutions, and the conformation and propagation of the effects by hereditary transmission. Physiologists say a six-fingered race might be produced by the intermarriage of people who happen to have six fingers. Seth Wright, a Massachusetts farmer, sixty-five years ago, produced the otter breed of sheep, from one ram with a remarkably long body and short legs. When both parents were of the other breed, their offspring had the peculiarities invariably of legs too short and crooked to be able to leap fences. There is a wonderful power in this hereditary principle. It destroys for ever the pride of race. The Caucasian is only a man of a nation whose peculiar circumstances have developed the capacities common to all men in an extraordinary degree. That branch of the human family is noblest which has best served man and God. Hunger and ignorance, defeat and distress made the native Irish of the barony of Flews, a barren and mountainous district into which they were driven by their conquerors, in a few generations, ugly, big mouthed, stunted, pot-bellied, bow-legged, with depressed noses, and exposed gums, in fact, gaunt and spectral savages. Man is exceedingly pliable, and malleable to his circumstances, and there is an extraordinary power in the reproductive processes, of transmitting and perpetuating the effects of circumstances, as the quality of families. This fact is full of rebuke to the writers and persons who encourage any boasts in mere blood in the absence of the illustrious qualities. This fact is full of hope for the friends of human improvement, for it shews that all the splendid qualities which men have ever unfolded, may again be shewn, by men with surpassing lustre and glorious breeds of people summoned forth, who will have all the worth of the men of old, with new worth which can be known only to the men to come.

The aristocratic feeling as it exists in this day and country, plays a considerable part in Bulwer Lytton's 'Lucretia.' But the approach to this work is stopped by a controversy respecting the province of fiction. Its appearance was a signal for a yell against the use of crime. Certain writers denounced the



author as a corrupter of public morals; and he has published a defence of himself under the title of 'A Word to the Public.'

This defence is complete as respects the charge against him, of having a morbid taste for the delineation of crime. Of sixteen fictions which he has published, criminals have been the heroes of only three. The greatest masters of art in all ages have employed the greatest crimes in tragic fiction. What is admissible for dramatic is admissible for narrative fiction, wherever and whenever it occurs, provided the facts can excite terror. The authors who deal with crime, however, are wrong when by the portraiture of the deed, or their sophistries about the criminal, they seduce their readers into admiration for the crime. Authors are to be condemned when, by licentious scenes, they appeal dangerously to the senses. They are justifiable only when they have a thoughtful purpose, and seek, by the delineation of crime, to illustrate some wise and serviceable truths. If tried by these tests the fictions of this author cannot be condemned.

But we submit with much deference that an author never can wisely enter into controversy with his critics. When the hostile criticism arises from differences of a fundamental kind, he does not do justice to his own principles of art, in presenting them defensively as shields of his individual reputation. Besides, such replies are not sound policy, for they encourage the notion that on the whole the slashing style of criticism is best for critics. Nobody can suspect slashing critics of wishing to toady their authors. Slashing criticisms have the best chance of producing 'sensations.' Critics eager to attract notice to themselves and their journals, know there is nothing better for their purpose than cutting attacks on authors who write and publish replies. Once upon a time a writer in a Quarterly Review in a passage of his article, supplied the newspapers with a topic of controversy for several years. The reviewer was congratulated by one of the most experienced and influential of the critics of the day. 'You have done the best you could for the Review,' he said, and the reviewer replied, 'Have I! what is that?' 'You have made it talked about;' and this critic spoke the practical truth with respect to all periodicals and all reviewers. Now, we submit that Sir Bulwer Lytton is just the right sort of author for this kind of critics. He is a replying author. The ablest criticism, if generous and just, can call forth only a letter of thanks from the author to the critic, and obtain an agreeable but not a noisy approbation from its readers. But a fierce attack makes the town ring. The assailing journal and the truculent critic are talked of by every body. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton ought to have had experience enough not to

fall into such traps. There is a trick of the autograph collectors of which it is said his grace the Duke of Wellington is always a dupe. They write to him not to obtain his opinion, but his autograph, on subjects with which he has nothing to do, and he answers every letter he receives, and is thus the victim of every collector. Sir Edward ought not to be the victim of every assailing critic. He would be less attacked, could he diffuse through the fraternity the conviction that 'it is of no use attacking him, for he will take no notice of it.'

But the objection to the use of crime in fiction has been brought forward in a really ingenious way in the 'Westminster Review,' for last month. Admitting the validity of his defence against the charge of a morbid partiality for crime, the reviewer moots the question, has Sir E. Bulwer Lytton ministered to a healthy taste, or to one for morbid excitement? He doubts 'whether the contemplation of unalloyed evil produces, under any circumstances, a salutary impression.' When any notion obtains possession of the imagination, the mind is biased by it. Hence when a girl throws herself off the Monument, an iron protection has to be erected to prevent suicidal boys and girls from imitating the deed. Hence the imitative mania for shooting Queen Victoria and King Louis Philippe. He classes pleasurable excitement from the passion of terror, with gladiatorial contests and bull fights, and the conflicts of wild beasts. Ethical philosophers and criminal reformers are describing terror as a reforming moral influence. But the attractiveness of good, and not the repulsiveness of evil, is the most powerful agency for virtue.

We agree with this reviewer in disbelieving in the purifying of the heart by terror. The feelings may be softened and elevated by pity, but never by terror. The omnipotence of terror was the reliance of society in its stern battle with crime, and all its punishments, however severe, have failed—racks, blocks, axes, gibbets, halters, and guillotines. There is an omnipotence of love, of which the cross erected on Calvary was the highest expression, and which has been, and is likely still to prove, the best antagonist of crime.

But there is a sufficient answer to this reviewer, which he might have extracted for himself, from the novel of 'Lucretia,' and the defence of it by its author. A new superstition has arisen, and is infecting the age—the worship of intellect. Francis Bacon, a great intellect and a great criminal, was an apostle of knowledge, and his repeaters, in the nineteenth century, have been eloquent in proclaiming the glad tidings of encyclopedical information. Writers have arisen who have portrayed the great parts played by great men in human affairs, and hence the propagation of a sort of religion of which intel-

lect is the deity, knowledge the creed, and lionism the worship. There is a great controversy in this day about intellect and goodness. Sir. E. Bulwer Lytton has done a valuable service, therefore, we submit, by delineating in this novel the compatibility with crime of every kind of intellectual ability, whether scientific, artistical, or practical.

'Lucretia' is the niece of an old baronet, Sir Miles St. John, of Laughton, who is very proud of his pure Norman blood, and thinks the maintenance of its purity a sacred duty. His niece is his heiress, and he indulges the hope of seeing her married to Charles Vernon, the representative of the elder branch of his family. Her tutor, Dalibard, a man of science, was an actor in the French Revolution, under Robespierre, and corrupts her mind with the ideas of the sceptical French philosophy, while he is himself an adept in the dark art of poisoning. Dalibard, the tutor, himself aspires to her hand, for which the head of the St. Johns sues feebly in vain, while the young lady herself has secretly given her heart to a young, soft, and handsome Mr. Mainwaring, the son of a land agent. Varney, the son of Dalibard, is the spy of his father on all the proceedings of the niece and her uncle. It is cleverly managed by the tutor and his son that Sir Miles shall himself discover the secret engagement of his heiress to the son of a land agent. He alters his will, leaves his estates to Vernon, cuts off his niece with £10,000, and dies of apoplexy. The mother of Lucretia had forfeited the favour of her brother by her second marriage with a physician, Dr. Mivers. Susan Mivers, the half sister of Lucretia, had often met her lover, Mainwaring, before he had visited Laughton, or been seen by its heiress, and an unavowed attachment had sprung up between them. Bereft of her heritage, Lucretia discovers this attachment by the arrangement of Dalibard, and the result is, she is also bereft of her affianced husband. Madened by disappointment, Lucretia weds herself to Dalibard and to crime. In Paris, Dalibard is an important man under Napoleon. But his son Varney and his wife Lucretia have observed the mysterious death of a rich relative of Dalibard's, and the attentions of the poisoner to the widow. They foresee their danger, the son and the wife, and set the followers of George Cadoudal, whom Dalibard has betrayed to death, upon his track, and the father and husband is found murdered in the chamber in which he prepared his poisons. Lucretia, a widow, returns to England, and resides with her half sister and her husband, Mainwaring, her own only love. She had in the bitter hour of her renunciation of her sweetest hopes, breathed a vow, as she kissed the forehead of Helen. She enters their home to execute her revenge. Mainwaring, who had become a



partner in a bank, is inveigled by her advice into speculations which ruin his fortune, and blast his name. The sweetness of her revenge is to make her sister and her lover pensioners on her bounty. But now a religious fit seizes Lucretia. She joins a small sect, of extraordinary austerity, and marries one of the leading laymen of it. This person, named Braddel, is a hypocrite and a bankrupt, and her fortune is lost. Believing that his wife has poisoned him, he causes their only child, a boy, to be hidden from her, and brought up under the care of a young sister of the sect. Beggared, widowed, suspected, bereaved of her child, as she had been of her heritage and her lover, Lucretia wanders to London, where she meets with Varney, the son of her tutor, corrupter, husband, and victim. They live in a partnership of crime for years. Susan Mivers and Mainwaring left on their death, as the only issue of their marriage, a daughter, Helen Mainwaring. Charles Vernon took the name of St. John, with the estate at Laughton, and, after marrying, died, leaving an only son, Percival St. John. This youth is about twenty when he arrives in London. On the night of the coronation of William the Fourth, a beautiful girl is separated from her friends by the crush of the crowd at the Corner of St. James's-street and Pall Mall. Two rakes pursue her, and, to escape their rudeness, she flies up Cleveland Row. Percival St. John offers his arm and protection to Helen Mainwaring opposite the door of the house then occupied by the late Earl of Durham. They love. Beautiful as a sunbeam out of a lowering heaven upon a storm-vexed sea, is the love of this virtuous boy and girl amidst the black horrors of assassination. By means of Beck, a crossing sweeper, Percival St John finds out the residence of his love. His relationship to Madame Dalibard, under whose roof Helen lives, warrants him in calling at the gloomy residence of the murderess in Old Brompton. Lucretia watches, with a malignant interest, the attachment between the son of the man who had obtained her heritage, and the daughter of the sister who had wedded her lover. Percival St. John, in the absence of his mother abroad, invites Helen and her aunt to Laughton.

Varney had insured the life of Helen in several offices, to the extent of £15,000. He had also committed a forgery; and to obtain this money, was the only means by which he could escape detection. The poisons work, and the health of Helen declines. But this crossing sweeper recognises in Varney a confederate of criminals, and watches the proceedings of the partners in guilt. He observes Madame Dalibard, who pretended to be paralytic, straight and active, visiting stealthily, at midnight, the bed-chamber of the death-stricken girl. He overhears Lucretia and

Varney debating the best time for assassinating Percival. They reckon the hour of his anguish for the death of Helen suitable for the administration of a poison which produces *angina pectoris*. Lucretia fancies she has discovered her lost son by Braddel, in young Ardworth, a noble-minded and able sub-editor of a daily paper. She purposes to destroy all the heirs of entail between her son and the heritage she had lost. But Beck, the crossing sweeper, discovers her secret. Before he can make off to warn his master, Lucretia detects him, and infuses delirium and death into his veins with the prick of a poisoned ring. Beck rides off to warn his master, and Varney starts in pursuit of him. He meets a carriage containing the Ardworths, who take the dying man into it. His tale is ascribed to delirium. The Ardworths prove to Lucretia that Beck is her lost son, and the revelation destroys her intellect. She had found her son in the denouncer she had assassinated. Varney is found guilty of forgery, and lives a chained convict in a penal colony. There remains for Percival St. John the sweet and holy memory of Helen, and it is no unworthy morality which the novelist teaches when he makes it the blessed lot of this lovely girl to die young, guiltless, and beloved.

Of course this work cannot be fairly estimated from our bald analysis of the story, nor can any extract convey an adequate idea of the extraordinary power displayed in its treatment. We shall therefore only quote 'the prologue':—

'In an apartment at Paris, one morning, during the Reign of Terror, a man whose age might be somewhat under thirty, sat before a table covered with papers, arranged and labelled with the methodical precision of a mind fond of order and habituated to business. Behind him rose a tall book-case, surmounted with a bust of Robespierre, and the shelves were filled chiefly with works of a scientific character; amongst which the greater number were on chemistry and medicine. At one of the windows, a young boy was earnestly engaged in some occupation, which appeared to excite the curiosity of the person just described; for this last, after examining the child's movements for a few moments with a silent scrutiny, which betrayed but little of the half-complacent, half-melancholy affection with which busy man is apt to regard idle childhood, rose noiselessly from his seat, approached the boy, and looked over his shoulder unobserved. In a crevice of the wood by the window, a huge black spider had formed his web; the child had just discovered another spider, and placed it in the meshes; he was watching the result of his operations. The intrusive spider stood motionless in the midst of the web, as if fascinated. The rightful possessor was also quiescent; but a very fine ear might have caught a low humming sound, which probably augured no hospitable intentions to the invader. Anon, the stranger insect seemed suddenly to awake from its amaze; it evinced alarm,

and turned to fly; the huge spider darted forward—the boy uttered a chuckle of delight.

‘Child,’ said the man in French.

‘The boy turned quickly.

‘Has the great spider devoured the small one?’

‘No, sir,’ said the boy, colouring; ‘the small one has had the best of it.’

‘Spiders, then,’ said the man, after a short pause, ‘are different from men; with us, the small do not get the better of the great. Hum! do you still miss your mother?’

‘Oh, yes!’ and the boy advanced eagerly to the table.

‘Well, you will see her once again.’

‘When?’

‘The man looked towards a clock on the mantel-piece—‘Before that clock strikes. Now, boy, come with me; I have promised to show you an execution. I am going to keep my promise. Come!’

‘The boy clapped his hands with joy; he caught up his gay cap and plume, and followed his father into the streets.

‘Silently the two took their way towards the *Barrière du Trône*. At a distance, they saw the crowd growing thick and dense, as throng after throng hurried past them, and the dreadful guillotine rose high in the light blue air. As they came into the skirts of the mob, the father, for the first time, took his child’s hand. ‘I must get you a good place for this show,’ he said with a quiet smile.

‘There was something in the grave, staid, courteous, yet haughty bearing of the man, that made the crowd give way as he passed. They got near the dismal scene, and obtained entrance into a waggon already crowded with eager spectators.

‘And now they heard at a distance the harsh and lumbering roll of the tumbril that bore the victims, and the tramp of the horses which guarded the procession of death. The boy’s whole attention was absorbed in expectation of the spectacle, and his ear was, perhaps, less accustomed to French, though born and reared in France, than to the language of his mother’s lips—and she was English: thus he did not hear or heed certain observations of the bystanders, which made his father’s pale cheek grow paler.

‘What is the batch to-day?’ quoth a butcher, in the waggon.

‘Scarce worth the baking—only two:—but one, they say, is an aristocrat—a *ci-devant* marquis,’ answered a carpenter.

‘Ah! a marquis!—*Bon!*—And the other?’

‘Only a dancer; but a pretty one, it is true: I could pity her; but she is English.’ And as he pronounced the last word, with a tone of inexpressible contempt, the butcher spat, as if in nausea.

‘*Mort Diable!* a spy of Pitt’s, no doubt. What did they discover?’

‘They are coming! there they are!’ cried the boy, in ecstatic excitement.

‘The crowd now abruptly gave way. The tumbril was in sight. A man, young and handsome, standing erect and with folded arms in



the fatal vehicle, looked along the mob with an eye of careless scorn. Though he wore the dress of a workman, the most unpractised glance could detect, in his mien and bearing, one of the hated *noblesse*, whose characteristics came out even more forcibly at the hour of death. On the lip was that smile of gay and insolent levity, on the brow that gallant if reckless contempt of physical danger, which had signalled the hero-coxcombs of the old *régime*. Even the rude dress was worn with a certain air of foppery, and the bright hair was carefully adjusted as if for the holiday of the headsman. As the eyes of the young noble wandered over the fierce faces of that horrible assembly, while a roar of hideous triumph answered the look, in which for the last time the *gentilhomme* spoke in scorn of the *canaille*, the child's father lowered the collar of his cloak, and slowly raised his hat from his brow. The eye of the marquis rested upon the countenance thus abruptly shewn to him, and which suddenly became individualized amongst the crowd,—that eye instantly lost its calm contempt. A shudder passed visibly over his frame, and his cheek grew blanched with terror. The mob saw the change, but not the cause, and loud and louder rose their triumphant yell. The sound recalled the pride of the young noble;—he started—lifted his crest erect, and sought again to meet the look which had appalled him. But he could no longer single it out among the crowd. Hat and cloak once more hid the face of the foe, and crowds of eager heads intercepted the view. The young marquis's lips muttered; he bent down, and then the crowd caught sight of his companion, who was being lifted up from the bottom of the tumbril, where she had flung herself in horror and despair. The crowd grew still in a moment, as the pale face of one, familiar to most of them, turned wildly from place to place in the dreadful scene, vainly and madly through its silence, imploring life and pity. How often had the sight of that face, not then pale and haggard, but wreathed with rosy smiles, sufficed to draw down the applause of the crowded theatre—how, then, had those breasts, now fevered by the thirst for blood, held hearts spell-bound by the airy movements of that exquisite form writhing now in no stage-mime agony! Plaything of the city—minion to the light amusement of the hour—frail child of Cytherea and the Graces,—what relentless fate has conducted *thee* to the shambles? Butterfly of the summer, why should a nation rise to break *thee* upon the wheel? A sense of the mockery of such an execution, of the horrible burlesque that would sacrifice to the necessities of a mighty people so slight an offering, made itself felt among the crowd. There was a low murmur of shame and indignation. The dangerous sympathy of the mob was perceived by the officer in attendance. Hastily he made a sign to the headsman, and, as he did so, a child's cry was heard in the English tongue—'Mother—mother!' The father's hand grasped the child's arm, with an iron pressure; the crowd swam before the boy's eyes; the air seemed to stifle him, and become blood-red; only through the hum, and the tramp, and the roll of the drums, he heard a low voice hiss in his ear—'Learn how they perish who betray me!'

- ART. V.—1. *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*. Translated, with additions and corrections from the author's 'Thesaurus,' and other works. By Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. 4to. pp. x.—884, 36. London: Bagster & Sons. 1846.
2. *Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, from the Fourteenth German Edition, enlarged and improved by E. Ködiger, Ph. D., D.D. Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of Halle*. Translated by Benjamin Davies, Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Leipsic. With *A Hebrew Reading Book*, by the Translator. 4to. pp. x.—232, 18, with copious paradigms. London: Bagster & Sons. 1846.

THOUGH the students of Hebrew may not, in these days, require such information as a stimulus, some of them may like to be informed that this department of learning was, at the time of the revival of letters in Germany, very greatly indebted to the influence of alarm. The rise of Puseyism of late years was hardly more so; nor is voluntarism, in these palmy days of prelacy and extortion, in greater peril than, if Reuchlin may be believed, was the cause of sacred literature just before the outbreak of the German Reformation. Some curious hints on this subject occur in Reuchlin's letters to his brother Dionysius, which are printed in his '*Rudimenta Hebraica*,' especially the first of them. Some of his expressions in this first letter read very much like the account which has been given of the meditations and misgivings of the monks of Oxford, in 1834, when they feared that all the ancient landmarks and bulwarks of their superstition were about to be removed by public clamour and the strong arm of civil power. We give them below.\*

To avert this calamity, he thought that nothing would be so efficacious as to induce the learned to read the Scriptures in the original languages, especially the Hebrew, which still remained unknown to them. 'It is necessary,' he says, 'that the ancient dignity of sacred literature should be restored for the use of Latin scholars, to whom it is as yet unknown; so that the too great familiarity of their daily reading being done away, we may, not without some admiration of this unheard-of and

\* 'Persæpe mihi cogitanti de communi sacrarum literarum jactura, Dionysi frater, quæ cum multitudine sophismatum annis superioribus, tum maxime nunc propter eloquentiæ studium et poetarum amœnitatem, non modo negliguntur, verum etiam a quàm plurimis contemptui habentur, in mentem venit tandem opportuni cujusdam remedii, ne sancta bibliæ scriptura vel aliquando tota pereat, et simul animarum nostrarum progressus cum suavi cantu Sirenium, quas ne Ulysses quidem audiret, ad inferos abeat.'—*Rud. Hebr. ut sup.*

recent study, learn that new and native manner of speaking in the divine scriptures, which the mouth of God employed.'\*

Afterwards, noticing the fact that Hebrew bibles had been printed in several places in Italy, and were to be obtained at reasonable prices, (we are afraid we should think the prices rather high now, if we had to pay them), and yet, that of the entire body of the learned, there was not to be found one man, or, at most, no other than himself who was willing to unfold the principles of the Hebrew language for the advancement of theology, possibly as he thinks, because their forefathers had declined so great a labour, (*qui prope, mea sententia, est infinitus*), or perhaps because they thought it derogatory to their dignity to leave the higher departments of divine and human learning, and devote themselves 'as schoolmasters to childish elements,' he resolved to do it himself. The words in which he announced this intention are not merely remarkable, as expressing the ordinary difficulties of a scholar of the fifteenth century, they intimate a most sagacious presentiment of the storm which his self-denying perseverance in the cause of Hebrew learning actually brought down upon him. 'Ego miseratus tam sanctas literas, indolui mea ætate studiosos diutius Hebraicæ linguæ scientia carere, qua propter illorum ingenio favens, ausus sum, licet supra modum forsitan temere, primus omnium, et tam grave pondus meis humeris imponere, et simul *offerre me latratibus mordacium; utinam Judaicis solum.*'†

It may not be without interest, if, before we attempt to

\* 'Erit necesse, veterum sanctarum literarum dignitatum in novam faciem latinis hominibus hoctinus incognitam reverti; ut nimia familiaritate quotidianæ lectionis explosa, novum et nativum in divina scriptura dicendi genus, quale os Dei locutum est, nosmet ipse non sine quadam inauditi ac recentis nuper studii admiratione apprehendamus.'

† The whole letter is full of interest, especially where the writer defends himself by ancient authorities for descending to such a kind of labour, and where he relates to his brother how he had acquired his own knowledge of the language. On the latter subject he says:—'Cumque me suum recepisset ad Serenissimum Imperatorem Fredericum tertium inclytus princeps Eberhardus Probus, isqui postea in splendidissimis vangionum comitiis a Max. Æmiliano, Romanorum rege, uno imperii consensu Dux primus Wirtembergensium auctoratus est, de cujus patriciis ego quoque consul eram; tum reperi ea in legatione Judæum doctum simul atque literatum, nomine Jacobum Jehiel Loans, imperiale munificentia et Doctorem Medicinæ et Equitem Auratum. Is me supra quam dici queat, fideliter literas Hebraicas primus edocuit. Post vero legatus Rhomam ad Alexandrum Sextum, qui reliqui fuerant ea in lingua canones, eos a Cesinatensi Judæo, scilicet Abdia filio Jacobi Sphurno petivi, qui me quotidie toto legationis tempore perquam humanitis in Hebraicis erudit, non sine insignis mercedis impendio. Quod idcirco, Germane frater, ad te scribo, ut animadvertas, et sæpius cum tua mente revolvās qualis laboribus, temporibus et impensis Hebraicæ linguæ sola initia sortitus sim' &c.



exhibit the relation in which Reuchlin's labours stand to the more perfect productions of our own age, we devote a few paragraphs to the hot controversy, partially foreseen by him, in which his zeal in the cause involved him.

The '*Rudimenta Hebraica*' was first published in 1506. The work, which consisted of a Lexicon and Grammar, (then distributed into three parts, though reduced by Sebastian Munster, in his edition of 1537,—the second edition,—to two), and the preparation of which, we are informed in a letter written by Reuchlin himself, consumed not only much of his time, but also a considerable part of his fortune, did not immediately on its appearance provoke much hostility. For this, various causes may be assigned. Reuchlin's high rank as a scholar, and his influential position as a judge and imperial counsellor, were, of course, a great protection. Then the work itself was of a size and class which forbade its very extensive or rapid circulation; we have intimated that the second edition did not appear till 1537;—and then the subject, though no special favourite, as the extracts we have given from Reuchlin's letter intimate, with even the restorers of learning, who were chiefly devoted to the literature of Greece and Rome, was, perhaps, on that very account, not so much an object of alarm to the favourers of the ancient ignorance. Indeed, the virulence with which Greek literature and its restorer were assailed in Italy and Germany, was occasioned by the fact, that Greek was the language of the rival church under the government of the patriarch of Constantinople, between which and the Roman there had ever been a deadly feud. The Jews, though hated, were too despicable in the eyes of the papacy to be feared; the revival of their literature did not, therefore, for a few years excite the same unrelenting hostility which followed the restoration of Greek learning. But the storm was even then brewing, and we may, perhaps, infer from Reuchlin's expression, '*utinam Judaicis solum*,' that he knew the quarter whence it was to spread. In 1507, only a year after the publication of the '*Rudimenta*,' a work appeared at Nuremberg, with the title of '*Judenspiegel*;' and, in 1508, another, entitled, '*Der Juden Beichte*,' both of which, under a great show of seeking the conversion of the Jews, were filled with calumnies against them and their literature, and proposed the persecution of the one and the suppression of the other. These works were the productions of a baptized Jew, named Pfefferkorn, who had taken up a profession of Christianity in 1504; apparently from very unworthy motives, for his character was no higher than his learning, which, whether in the language of his nation or the classical tongues, was, as compared with his professions, contemptible. This man, how-

ever, obtained such influence with the Dominicans of Cologne, whom he flattered with the hope of acquiring great credit to their order through the success of his proselyting schemes, that they were induced to petition the emperor Maximilian for an inquisition against the Jews and their writings; so that, in 1509, the emperor ordered that all Jewish books should be sought after and destroyed by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The execution of this mandate naturally devolved on Pfefferkorn, who endeavoured, though in vain, to induce Reuchlin to act with him in the business. The resistance he every where met with, both from the magistracy and the clergy, at last compelled him to seek new powers from the emperor. He begged for an order commissioning him to seize and destroy all Hebrew books, except the Bible. The emperor, brought to reflection, referred the matter to the archbishop of Mentz, requiring at the same time, that various universities, and certain individuals who were known to have studied Hebrew (Reuchlin being one), should investigate it. Reuchlin's authority as a Hebrew scholar being greater than that of all his other coadjutors, the archbishop, as the surest way of giving effect to the emperor's intention, sent him the mandate, with a letter requiring him to deliver his judgment on the question, whether it was to the advantage of Christian religion that the Jewish Commentaries on the Old Testament should be destroyed. This occasioned Reuchlin's 'Inquiry, whether the Jews ought to have all their books taken away, destroyed, and burnt;' a temperate piece, in which he refuted all the objections which had been preferred against their books, in detail and with great discrimination. This document furnished the ostensible occasion for the public controversy we have spoken of, and which continued, with little interruption, for several years, till it issued in the triumph of Reuchlin's cause.

The first piece which appeared in this contest, was an invective published by Pfefferkorn, with the assistance of the Dominicans (of whom the too-famous Hochstraten was the most conspicuous) under the title of 'Hand spiegel'—Handglass. This came out in 1511, at the Easter fair; it bitterly reviled Reuchlin, charging him with ignorance of Hebrew, with piracy and fraud in the composition of the 'Rudimenta,' and with having taken bribes from the Jews to support their cause. To these calumnies, Reuchlin, finding that through various accidents the matter was likely to be neglected by the authorities to whom the emperor had committed it, replied, in a work entitled, 'Augen-spiegel'—Eye-glass. In this he communicated to the world his 'Inquiry,' mentioned above, which Pfefferkorn and his friends had hitherto suppressed, and which so satisfied all

impartial and right thinking men, that he had testimonies of approbation from several quarters. Pirkheimer, Erasmus, and Vadian wrote their approval of him in strong terms, though they expressed regret that he had considered it necessary to contend with so worthless a man as Pfefferkorn. We should have said, that Reuchlin's refutation of the charge of fraud in the composition of his 'Rudimenta,' was most triumphant. He refers to the fact, that there existed no grammar from which he could have taken his material; asserts that he was the first to ascertain and systematize the rules of the language; and that, as Pfefferkorn well knew, he had no one in his house who could have done the work for him, since it was from him principally that those who had attained any proficiency in Hebrew had derived their knowledge of it.

Reuchlin was blamed by many of his friends, for doing more in his defence than publishing his 'Inquiry,' which his enemies had suppressed. But it cannot be believed that any such moderation on his part would have prevented the continuance of the controversy; the temper of his adversaries forbids any such conclusion. They were virulently determined to destroy, if possible, all Hebrew books, and to suppress the rising interest in Hebrew literature. As it was, the appearance of the 'Augenspiegel' was the signal for new and more embittered attacks on Reuchlin. The theological faculty of Cologne came forward immediately in aid of Pfefferkorn and Hochstraten. Arnold von Zungarn was appointed to examine the book, with what result may be supposed. The book, of course, was very bad; the only question was, should it be burnt?—or should its author be cited to answer before the faculty for having written it? Information of this having been conveyed to Reuchlin, a correspondence ensued between him and Arnold of Zungarn, on the one side, and Conrad Kollin on the other, with a view to an accommodation; a correspondence in which Reuchlin, under his first terrors from the inquisition, betrayed some weakness. Happily, the audacity of his enemies disclosed the true character of their projects, and he soon recovered himself. In March, 1512, he wrote a letter to the Faculty, declining to take any steps to suppress the 'Augenspiegel,' which, he said, was no longer in his own hands, but those of the booksellers; and remonstrating in strong terms with the Faculty for the part they were taking in oppressing him, and adopting the cause of Pfefferkorn. He assured them at the same time, that the learned, many of whom had been his pupils, would not forsake their master in this exigency, but would so support him that posterity would know from their writings how unworthily the theological faculty of Cologne had interfered in the matter.



At the Easter fair, in 1512, he also published his 'Clear Explanation in German,' 'Ain klare Verstantnus in Tütsch,' the sale of which his adversaries endeavoured to prevent by authority, using the name of the Elector, who, however, interfered, and permitted the sale. These measures had the effect of causing the quarrel to be discussed beyond the circles of the learned. The whole impression was immediately disposed of. Senators and laymen not at all addicted to theological discussions, are said to have carried the book about with them, repeating large portions of it by heart. The result was, that even in Cologne, the Dominicans became an object of general contempt, while Reuchlin's friends could not suppress their joy at his perseverance for the truth, and the favour with which his conduct was regarded by the learned, and the people generally.

The next movement of his adversaries was, to prepare their 'Articuli sive Propositiones de Judaico favore nimis suspectæ ex libello Theutonico D. Johannis Reuchlin, Leg Doct., Cologne, 1512, a work in which the old calumnies were reiterated, and new ones added. To this Reuchlin replied, in his 'Defensio contra Calumniatores Colonienses,' with all his accustomed ability and force. Immeasurably superior to his antagonists in the justice of his cause and the power of his pen, his friends regretted that he did not in this piece maintain the same superiority to them as he had before done in the style and temper of his reply. It was a great blemish to this 'Defence,' and did Reuchlin injury, that he descended, like his Colognese accusers, to use nicknames and contemptuous language. Towards the close of his 'Defence' he promises, that if any find fault with him for having dealt too mildly with his adversaries, he will reserve the stripes which he had not given them there for their other cheek, if they raged against him again. The violence with which the controversy was now conducted, produced, however, one important result; for the emperor, in 1513, issued an edict commanding both parties to be silent.

Henceforward, the affair was conducted before the tribunals. Hochstraten commenced the process by citing Reuchlin to appear before the inquisition at Mentz; but it would serve no useful purpose to detail the particulars or relate how, after his adverse judgment, the dean and chapter of Mentz espoused Reuchlin's cause, and procured a mandate from the archbishop, deferring the execution of the sentence; or, how the investigation was transferred by Pope Leo x. to the Bishop of Spire, who, on Hochstraten's continuing in declining to appear before him, decided in Reuchlin's favour. The usual intrigues accompanied and followed the subsequent appeal to Rome; but, although the university of Paris, and several other influential

universities used their influence on behalf of the Dominicans, the matter terminated in Reuchlin's acquittal, and a severe censure upon Hochstraten. By the prompt interference of Franz von Sickingen, on his return from the siege of Stuttgard, in 1519, Hochstraten was also compelled, at last, to indemnify Reuchlin for the costs of his proceedings, and make some further compensation and apology.

The whole of these proceedings were providentially subservient, not merely to the revival of Hebrew literature, but to the progress of the Reformation. Luther owned Reuchlin as his master. Perhaps no single writing, except Luther's translation of the Scriptures, had so great an influence on the literary and religious movement of the age, as the singular '*Literæ obscurorum virorum*,' a work in which Ulrich von Hutten is supposed to have had the greatest share, and which entirely arose out of the Dominicans' quarrel with Reuchlin. To this cause also must be referred the close and active confederacy which was formed among the friends of the new learning, who took the name of Reuchlinists, and by whose labours both oriental and occidental literature were made subservient to the great cause, not merely of protestantism, but evangelical religion.

To return to the '*Rudimenta Hebraica*.' It will not, of course, be expected that this work, great as were the merits and scholarship of its author, should sustain a comparison with the grammars and dictionaries of the nineteenth century. The last thirty years have seen improvements in lexicography, of which Reuchlin had not the remotest conception. Something was, indeed, attempted during the last century, in one of these elements of improvement, the comparison of the Hebrew with the cognate dialects, particularly the Arabic; but the success of these attempts was by no means commensurate with the reputation of their authors. This failure is to be ascribed to the want of discrimination, itself a result no doubt partly of inexperience—for, as we have said, the attempt was new,—but partly also of rashness, caprice, and the affectation of originality. It was from these causes that the labours of Simonis, Michaelis, and Eichhorn failed to advance lexicographical science to the extent of the opportunities afforded them by the new materials and methods which their times supplied. The first really great and essential improvement appeared, in fact, in the '*Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*' of Gesenius, published, 1810—1812, in two volumes, octavo, and in which all the peculiar distinctions of modern lexicography were, more or less, exemplified, though still very unequally. In the illustration of the particles, for instance, and the orderly development of the derived significations, he fell short of his other attain-

ments, and was not seldom surpassed by Winier, in his revision of Eichhorn's *Simonis*. But, generally speaking, Gesenius's first lexicographical work exhibited, not merely the rudiments of a really scientific Hebrew dictionary, but a successful, though practical development of lexical principles; and it is his honour to have realized in his later publications of the same class, each of which is an improvement on its predecessor, almost all that human ingenuity, judgment, and diligence could accomplish in his time. Whatever improvements may be yet looked for, will not, we can safely assert, consist in the introduction of new methods. They will be realized in the carrying out into fuller detail of methods which Gesenius has already exemplified with distinguished success; and will probably be restricted to a more comprehensive and discriminate comparison and analysis of roots, suggested and supplied mostly from rabbinical, but partly from Indo-germanic sources, and to a still more perfect arrangement of significations ascertained in those investigations.

It can be hardly necessary that we should detail or describe at any length, the characteristics of a scientific lexicon. Suffice it to say, that every such lexicon must, in addition to the points already noticed—we mean, the discriminate and masterly comparison of cognate dialects and languages, and the orderly development of the derived significations—be distinguished by the following marks. It must carefully distinguish the varieties of signification in the different species of verbs and nouns. It must indicate unusual species and unusual or occasional forms. It must show the various ways in which the signification of words is affected syntactically by other words—verbs, for instance, by the different prepositions which govern their complementary nouns, and must account for these changes. It must also exhibit, though without discussing them, which is the province of etymology, the exact formal derivation of the words themselves, as primary or otherwise. It must indicate related roots. It must distinguish the prosaic from the poetic forms, and, as far as possible, the more ancient from the later ones. No lexicon in which any of these explanations or distinctions is neglected, can lay any claim to the character of a scientific lexicon.

It must be owned, that these conditions are but imperfectly complied with by Reuchlin. The Hebrew scholar had enough to do in his day to get a tolerable collection and orderly arrangement of the phenomena of the language. This was also the case with other languages: there was no good lexicon to any. The chief assistance Reuchlin had in his laborious task, was, doubtless, derived from the '*Thesaurus*' of David Kimchi, to whom Pagninus was subsequently much indebted. But he



had evidently used the other writings of Kimchi, and the works of Onkelos, Jonathan, the Rabbi Akiba, and the commentaries of later authors, as De Lyra. His rabbinical references are frequent and explicit. Occasionally, therefore, a word is pertinently illustrated. Still, the work, as a whole, is little better than a vocabulary, and that not a perfect one. The following is a fair specimen of the better articles:—

‘**נָתַן** Posuit, disposuit, ordinavit, præparavit (Levitici 6.) Et imposito holocausto desuper: Hebraica veritas et Onkelos Chaldæus sic legunt. Ordinabitque super eam holocaustum. (Levitici 24) Ponetque eos Aaron a vespere usque in mane: (et Psalmo 5) ubi nostra translatio vertit, mane astabo tibi. Rectius Hieronymus in suo Psalterio de Hebraica veritate sic transfert: mane preparabor ad te: sed Hebræorum magistri melius exponunt ita: mane ordinabo ad te. Supple orationem meam, est enim verbum activum et non passivum: sed hic est passivum. Joelis 2. Sicut populus fortis præparatus ad prælium Item Exodi 40. Ordinatis coram propositionis panibus. Item in eodem; pones super eam quæ rite præcepta sunt, verbum e verbo sic: et ordinabis ordinationem ejus. Inde nomen loci ubi bellatur vel acies **מַחֲנֵה**, 1 Regum 4: Ego sum qui veni de prælio et ego qui de acie fugi hodie. **נָתַן** æstimavit, comparavit, cœquavit, æquavit Job 28, non adæquabitur ei aurum vel vitrum; et Psalmo 89. Quoniam quis in nubibus æquabitur domino. Hinc **נָתַן** æstimatio Levitici vicesimo septimo.’

With this specimen, taken almost at random, let us compare the same root as it is exhibited in the ‘Lexicon Manuale’ of Gesenius, published in 1833.

‘**נָתַן** fut. **יָנִיתִי** ordine seu ad lineam disposuit, struxit, nostr. reihen, richten, gr. τάσσω, τάττω (vic. **נָתַן** recta protendit, extendit, et in indogerm. *Reihe* [Reige, Riege] *reihen*, intens. reckon; rego [non pro *reago*, ut nonnulli volunt] *regula*, *rectus*, it. *rigeo* starr seyn, *rigor*, gerade Linie.) V. c. ligna in altari, Gen. xxii. 9, Lev. i. 6, panes in mensa sacra, xxiv. 8 (cf. **מַחֲנֵה** No. 2.), it. *instruxit* (zurichten) mensam ad convivium, Prov. ix. 2; Isa. xxi. 5, lxv. 11; aram, Num. xxiii. 4. candelabrum sacrum, Ex. xxvii. 21; Lev. xxiv. 3, 4, arma ad pugnam, Jer. xvi. 3. Spec. dicunt a) **נָתַן מַחֲנֵה** instruxit aciem, Jud. xx. 20, 22, seq. **נָתַן** et **לָקָח** contra aliquem, 1 Sam. xvii. 2; Gen. xiv. 9. Part. **נָתַן מַחֲנֵה** 1 Chron. xii. 23, 35, et **נָתַן מַחֲנֵה** Joel, ii. 5, ad pugnam instructus. Omisso vocabulo **מַחֲנֵה** id. Jud. xx. 30, 33; 1 Sam. iv. 2, xvii. 21, sequente **נָתַן** in aliquem, 2 Sam. x. 9, 10, x. 17; Jer. i. 9, 14. Part. **נָתַן** instructus (ad pugnam) Jerem. vi. 23, l. 42; Job, vi. 4, **נָתַן** pro **נָתַן** *aciem instruunt adversus me*, Job, xxxiii. 5. (b) **נָתַן** verba struxit, i. e. fecit, prohibet, seq. **נָתַן** contra aliq. Job, xxxii. 14, it. omisso **נָתַן** Job, xxxvii. 19, **נָתַן** *nihil proferremus præ tenebris*, i. e. ignorantia. Sequente **נָתַן** verba direxit ad al. Jer. xlv. 7, et ellipt. Ps. v. 4, **נָתַן** *mane ad te dirigo* (verba

mea). (c) מְשַׁשׁ לִי מִשְׁפָּט instruit litem seu causam forensem, Job, xiii. 18; xxiii. 4 cf. Ps. l. 21.

(2). Seq. לְּ composuit (zusammenstellen mit etwas) contulit, comparavit (vergleichen) Jer. xl. 18, מִדְּמֹתַי הָעֲרִיבִי לִי *quam similitudinem ei comparabitis?* Ps. lxxxix. 7, xl. 6. אֵין עִיר אֵלֶיךָ *nihil est tibi comparandum*, Job, xxviii. 17, 19 (quo utroque loco עִיר est dativus pro לְּ).

(3). *Æstimavit* (quod fit, pretium rei cum pecunia contendendo) max. *magni fuit* (cf. מַגֵּן), Job, xxxvi. 19, הֲנִיחַ שְׂוֵךְ שְׂוֵךְ *num divitias tuas magni faciet, i. e. respiciet?*

*Hiph. i. q. Kal. no. 3, æstimavit*, Lev. xxvii. 8, 19; 2 Reg. xxiii. 35.

Derivv. מִשְׁכָּח, מִשְׁכָּח, מִשְׁכָּח et.

מִשְׁכָּח m. cum Suff. מִשְׁכָּח. (1) *ordo, strues*, panum appositiciorum Ex. xl. 23.—(2) *instructio, apparatus*, spec. vestium, armorum, Jud. xvii. 10, מִשְׁכָּח *apparatus vestium* (Ausrüstung mit Kleidern) i. e. quæcunque ad vestitum pertinent. Egregie LXX. Vatic. στολή ἱματίων, στολή enim vox est in hac re propria (cf. lat. *stola*) Alex. ζεύγος ἱματίων unde vulg. *vestem duplicem* (quod vindicare studet Lud. de Dieu ad h. l.) De *armaturâ* (qs. stolâ) crocodili, Job, xli. 4.—(3) *æstimatio, taxatio*, מִשְׁכָּח secundum æstimationem tuam, Levit. v. 15, 18, 25; xxvii. 12. מִשְׁכָּח הַכֹּהֵן *secundum æstimationem tuam, sacerdotis* inquam; neque aliter eadem formulo accipienda erit, Comm. 2, מִשְׁכָּח נְפִשׁוֹת לַיהוָה *secundum æstimationem tuam* (sacerdotis) *Deo offerantur homines*. (Cf. de h. l. de Wette et Dettinger, in theol. Studien und Kritiken 1831, p. 303; 1832, p. 395, 396). Inde de *pretio* quo æstimanda est res. Job, xxviii. 13; Ps. lv. 14, אֶתָּה אֲנִי מִשְׁכָּח *tu vir, quem mihi ipsi æquiparo.*

The difference between the two preceding articles is obvious to the most cursory glance. It consists not nearly so much in the extent as in the quality of the illustration they convey. The article from Gesenius, though not particularly selected for the purpose of exhibiting *all* the characteristics of a matured lexicography, leaves, as must have been seen, not one of them, or hardly one, unexemplified. It is this feature of his lexicons, and especially the uniform, sustained equality they exhibit throughout—for no man can stand less chargeable than Gesenius with remissness or carelessness in details—which has given to them and to their author the highest place in Hebrew lexicography.\*

\* There is one feature in Reuchlin's Lexicon hitherto unnoticed, just because it has properly nothing to do with lexicography; but which, as considered in relation to him, it may be worth while not wholly to pass over. Reuchlin having been instructed by teachers of the Jewish nation, and having been previously a little touched with the Platonic taste of the age, of which Marsilius Ficinus was such a notable instance, fell into the mysteries of the Cabbala, and wrote several pieces on the subject. It was to be expected, therefore, that it would not be wholly neglected in his lexicon. The following is a specimen of this kind, extracted from the article קַבָּלָה. \* \* \* 'Inde dicitur cabala, id est, receptio, secundum Rabi David Kimhi in libro de radicibus, ex quo nostri arcanorum indagatores artem cabalisticam nominant scientiam receptionis, eo quod per successivam re-

The lexicon at the head of this article is not, like Dr. Robinson's, a mere translation of Gesenius. In this respect the title does not convey a full idea of the work, which, besides the 'additions and corrections from the author's 'Thesaurus,' and other works,' contains many important additions and corrections, supplied by the translator. We do not say that the purchaser has any reason to complain of the omission; far from it. But we think that the alterations and intended improvements enumerated in the preface, should have been indicated on the title-page, in some form or other. We shall now state what these are, or, rather, let the translator state them.

'In 1836, there was a translation published in America, of the 'Lexicon Manuale,' by Edward Robinson, D.D.

'This work of Dr. Robinson, as well as the translations of Gibbs, had become very scarce in England; and the want of a good Hebrew and English lexicon really adapted to students, was felt by many.

'The question arose, whether a simple reprint of one of the existing translations would not sufficiently meet the want. It did not appear so to the present translator. As regards the translation of Dr. Robinson, considerable difficulty was felt, owing to the manner in which the rationalist views, unhappily held by Gesenius, not only appeared in the work without correction, but also, from the distinct statement of the translator's preface, that no remark was required on any theological views which the work might contain. Marks of evident haste and oversight were also very traceable through the work; and, these considerations combined, led to the present undertaking.'—Preface, p. vi.

Mr. Tregelles speaks, in a subsequent part of his preface, respecting Dr. Robinson's second edition, as 'liable to various objections, *especially on the ground of its neology*; scarcely a passage having been noted by Dr. Robinson as containing anything unsound.' 'This,' he adds, 'was decisive.' And with respect to his own work, he says:—

'It has been a special object with the translator to note the interpretations of Gesenius which manifested neologian tendencies, in order that by a remark, or by querying a statement, the reader may be put on his guard. And if any passages should remain unmarked, in which doubt is cast upon scripture inspiration, or in which the

ceptionem unius ab altero ad nos usque sit derivata, sicut clare ostendit nobilissimus ætate nostra philosophus Johannes Picus, comes sacri Romani imperii Mirandulanus et concordie dominus, in sua apologia contra et adversus calumniatores suarum conclusionum, quæstione quinta: ex qua quidem arte multi putant arcanas operationes oriri. Fuit autem nulla unquam arcanorum operatio, quæ non aliquando ab aliis bona, et ab aliis mala diceretur, præsertim ignorantibus. Sic Pharaonis magici virgam Mosis contempserunt, sic Christi miracula Pharisæi criminati sunt; unde non est



New and Old Testaments are spoken of as discrepant, or in which mistakes and ignorance are charged upon the 'holy men of God, who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost'—if any, perchance, remain, in which these or any other neologian tendencies be left unnoticed—the translator wishes it to be distinctly understood, that it is the effect of inadvertence alone, and not of design. This is a matter in which he feels it needful to be most explicit and decided.' —Pref., p. vii.

Though we were not by any means convinced, when we first read this preface, that the evil was of that very great consequence which the strength of the preceding language intimates, and though we do not always approve the style in which the translator's corrections are expressed, we must concede that an examination of the work now before us, has induced us to think rather differently on the subject. Using only the 'Lexicon Manuale,' as published by Gesenius himself, and the 'Thesaurus' more occasionally, and using them as a part, and but a small part, of the apparatus which our exegetical studies require, we had not been particularly offended with the neological element in this production. His other writings, and the writings of other authors which we have been obliged to use, contain so much more of it, that when it did not escape, it yet did not provoke us. But our examination of Mr. Tregelles's work, with this subject in view, has enabled us to form what we are satisfied is a correct view of the subject, and we are sincerely thankful to that gentleman for his corrections. To the youthful student, and especially in this age, they may be of much greater consequence than they would be to one of maturer mind, and fuller scriptural knowledge. We will give a few specimens of the corrections to which we refer.

Under the article מָשִׁיחַ, Gesenius in his 'Lexicon Manuale' writes: 'Semel de Cyro, Persarum rege, Jer. xlv. 1, de *Messid venturo* nunquam (quanquam sunt qui huc referant, Ps. ii. 2.), etc. This declaration is glossed over by Dr. Robinson, who translates—'Never of the Messiah to come, unless according to many in Ps. ii. 2,' evidently in accommodation to the feelings of American readers. Gesenius had a right to complain of such a rendering, (we know not that he did so) as imputing to him a concession he never meant to make. Mr. Tregelles translates

mirum, si Græcorum antiquitas quæ ad tantam cabalisticæ scientiæ perfectionem venire nunquam potuit cernendo arcanas operationes, inde nasci artem ipsam nominarunt deceptoriam, ut est apud Aristophanem in comædia ranarum, ubi Hercules loquitur ἡμῖν κοβαλλάγειν ὥς καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ. Sed Deo adjuvante hac ipsa de arte posthanc eos faciemus certiores quos experiamur legendis nostris in lingua Hebraica sudare.' Our readers will not be sorry that this subject is dispensed with in modern lexicons.

—‘Never of the future Messiah, (although some refer Psalm ii. 2, to him), but adds,’ [This is an awfully false statement, *many* of these passages, as well as Psalm ii. 2, refer to Christ only.] This is much more honest than Dr. Robinson’s unavowed emendation. Whether Mr. Tregelles was correct in his exegesis of the other passages, or has expressed his disapprobation of his author in the best manner, are points on which his readers will think variously. In our judgment, every good purpose would have been answered, had he said that the statement was not correct. He should also have specified the *many* instances which he intended, for in a lexicon nothing should be left obscure. As a motive to milder censure, the contrary to which seems applicable only in the case of intentional perversion, not erroneous judgment, he would have done well to remember, that there are many students of scripture, and diligent and prayerful students too, who would not venture to say with him, that Ps. ii., and some of the other oracles enumerated in the article, refer to the divine Messiah *only*.

The article on עוֹלָם supplies several examples of the translator’s corrective additions. Gesenius had said, for instance, ‘since true piety and uncorrupted morals are ascribed to men of old, עוֹלָם יָדָךְ Psalm cxix. 24; אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם Job xxii. 15; נְהִיבוֹת עוֹלָם Jer. vi. 16; שְׁפָרַי עוֹלָם Jer. xviii. 15, is the (true) piety of the fathers; compare צֶדֶק עוֹלָמִים ancient justice or innocence, Dan. ix. 24.’ On this Mr. Tregelles observes: ‘[It need hardly be pointed out to any Christian, that this passage in Daniel can have no such meaning as this; it speaks of the everlasting righteousness to be brought in through the atonement of Christ.]’ The article continues: ‘It does not always denote the most remote antiquity, as is shown by נְהִיבוֹת עוֹלָם which, in Isa. lviii. 12; lxi. 4, is used at the end of the Babylonish captivity [written prophetically long before] of the ruins of Jerusalem.’ It is scarcely necessary to inform those of our readers who are interested in the subject of the present paper, that the view which Mr. Tregelles contradicts in the words last bracketted, is the dictum of Gesenius so well refuted by Kleinert and others, that Isaiah xli—lxviii is the work of a different and later hand than the preceding chapters; in fact, the production of a pseudo-Isaiah.

Towards the end of the same article, we find the following statements, with Mr. Tregelles’s corrections in brackets:—

‘Also, a peculiar class is formed of those places (e) in which the Hebrews use the metaphysical notion of eternity by hyperbole in speaking of human things, especially in the expression of good wishes. Here belongs the customary form of salutation addressed

to kings, *יְיָ אֱדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ לְעֹלָם* 'Let my lord the king live for ever,' 1 Kings, i. 31; Neh. ii. 3, (compare Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9; Judith xii. 4. Ælian, Var. Hist. i. 32), also the wishes of poets for kings and royal families [these passages are really *prophecies*, not wishes; and the eternity spoken of, instead of being at all hyperbole, is the literal truth which God has vouchsafed to reveal] as Ps. lxi. 8, 'Let (the king) sit on his throne before God *for ever*,' compare v. 7, (let) his years be *כְּמִן יְרֵךְ* like many generations), Ps. xlv. 7, 'Thy throne established by God, (really 'thy throne, O God,') *לְעֹלָם וָעֶד* (shall stand) *for ever*.' Ps. lxxxix. 37, 'His (David's) seed shall endure *for ever*.' How much these expressions imply, may be understood from the words which immediately follow 'his throne (shall stand) as the sun before me;' ver. 38, 'like the moon it shall be established *for ever*;' and Ps. lxxii. 5, 'they shall fear thee, (O king) so long as the sun and moon endure *throughout* all generations; *ibid* 17, 'his name shall be *לְעֹלָם* *for ever*, so long as the sun shall his name flourish.' That is, by the figures of hyperbole there is invoked for the king, and particularly for David and his royal posterity, an empire not less enduring than the universe itself. [These are prophecies, not hyperbolical wishes.] Also, Psalm xlviii. 9, &c. &c.'

Similar instances of correction occur in the article *כְּבֹד* and many more which we had marked for extract; but it is unnecessary to give further exemplification. These corrections attest in the most satisfactory manner, the scholarly diligence the scripture knowledge, and the Christian earnestness of the translator. They are very numerous, and some of them are not merely valuable, but necessary. We do not approve of all of them, but we can see that Mr. Tregelles is not one with ourselves in his views of the literary and real connexion between the Old and New covenants. He denies, for instance, the double reference of prophetic passages, where we should not hesitate a moment in admitting it. But we have traced him through the work with a sincere admiration for his conscientious reverence for the word of God, and deep anxiety to preserve the fountains of our sacred knowledge from being corrupted by the vain and deceitful philosophy of a proud and carnal intellect. This admiration was not diminished by our recollection of the honesty which refused to garble the passages he felt compelled to impugn.

The same comparison having also satisfied us, that the translation itself is more faithful, and in every respect superior to Dr. Robinson's, we think it just, both to the undertakers of the work and its possible purchasers, to notice some of the other improvements made in it upon the 'Lexicon Manuale.' This we shall do by means of some extracts from the preface.

'This translation was conducted on the following plan: each root was taken as it stands in the 'Thesaurus,' and the 'Lexicon



*Manuale*' was compared with it; such corrections or additions being made as seemed needful; the root and derivatives were at once translated, every scripture reference being verified, and, when needful, corrected. A faithful adherence to this plan must ensure, it is manifest, not only correctness in the work, but also much of the value of the '*Thesaurus*,' in addition to the '*Lexicon Manuale*.'

'Every word has been further compared, and that carefully, with Professor Lee's Hebrew Lexicon. And when he questions statements made by Gesenius, the best authorities have been consulted. In Arabic roots, etc., Freytag's Lexicon has been used for verifying the statements of Gesenius which have been thus questioned. Winer's '*Simonis*,' and other authorities, were also compared.

'In the situations and particulars of places mentioned in the Old Testament, many additions have been made from Robinson's '*Biblical Researches*.' Forster's '*Arabia*' also supplied (as the sheets were going to press) some indications of tribes and nations mentioned in scripture. The '*Monumenta Phœnicia*' of Gesenius (which was published between the second and third parts of his '*Thesaurus*,') has been used for the comparison of various subjects which it illustrates. It is a work of considerable importance to the Hebrew student; and it would be desirable, that all the remains of the Phœnician language therein contained be published separately, \* so as to exhibit all the genuine ancient Hebrew which exists besides that contained in the Old Testament. A few articles omitted by Gesenius have been added; these consisting chiefly of proper names. The forms in which the proper names appear in the authorized English translation have been added throughout.'—Pref. pp. vi., vii.

We need hardly add, that Mr. Tregelles's '*Gesenius*' has our warmest recommendation. We say this, though there are evidently points of difference between him and his reviewer respecting Old Testament interpretation, which lead to important consequences both in apologetics and exegesis. But we can safely assure the Hebrew student, who is in want of a good Hebrew-English lexicon, that he will make a great mistake if he does not select this one. It is also as cheap as it is good, being very little higher priced than Robinson's, though containing much more matter, and most carefully and beautifully printed on superior paper. We have noticed but two errata; one on page 444, '*Müllee*' for '*Müller*;' and another, in the Hebrew, a dropped vowel, which we marked, but cannot re-discover.

The extended notice which was taken some little time since in this journal, of the labours of Gesenius as a Hebrew grammarian, renders it quite unnecessary that we should discuss at any length the merits of the Grammar named at the head of

\* We highly approve of this suggestion, and would refer it back again to Mr. Tregelles and his respectable publishers for their own practical consideration.—*Rev.*

this article. Still, we must not dismiss it without some notice, for several reasons. Not only is this work, which, in the German, is published as the fourteenth edition, a very decided advance upon all preceding editions; it is also the *debut* of a great oriental philologist in the department of Hebrew grammar. The labours and duties of Gesenius in this respect seemed naturally to devolve upon the person who succeeded to his chair and classes. Professor Rödiger has accordingly undertaken not only to edit the remainder of the unfinished 'Thesaurus,' but to supply the still urgent demand for the Grammar. Of the extent of the improvement made in this edition, something may be gathered from Dr. Davies, the translator's, preface:

'Changes have been made in almost every paragraph. One section is wholly (§ 88), and not a few are so altered as to be virtually new (eq. §§ 1, 23, 35, 79, 130). The views here given of the Aspirates (§ b. 3), of the vowels (§§ 7—9, 25—28), and of the sheva (§ 10) differ, more or less, from those of Gesenius; and the breathings א and ה (§ 23) are treated of apart from the feeble letters ו and י (§ 24). Essential changes have been made likewise in the sections on the article (§ 35), on the verbal suffixes (§§ 56—60), and on the verbs אָבָה, אָבַד, אָבַח, אָבַח ( §§ 67—74.)'—Pref. pp. v., vi.

We need only add, that the translation gives proofs of exemplary care and diligence, and that the Grammar is in every respect entitled to accompany the Lexicon, in conformity to which it is published. The public, and especially all Hebrew students, are under the greatest obligation to the enterprising publishers for the persevering attachment they evince to the cause of sacred literature; and we most unfeignedly hope that these publications will meet with the favour they deserve. More we could not wish them; more they could hardly receive.

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ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence on Transportation. Presented to Parliament by Command of her Majesty, the 16th February and 15th April, 1847.*

2. *Debate in the House of Lords upon Transportation, 5th March, 1847.*

A GENERAL opinion has grown up that the transportation of convicts to the Australias *must* be abandoned. That this general opinion is not entertained universally, and that it is not carried to the abolition of transportation in every form, can only be accounted for by the obscurity permitted to hang over the subject. In reality, it shares, by reason of this obscurity, the unsteadiness which is the bane of every branch of our colonial administration. The special circumstances of the penal settlements, one after another—first, those of New South Wales; then a disclosure of the abominations in Norfolk Island; then more frightful revelations from Van Diemen's Land—not any enlarged views of policy, based upon accurate statements, guide our ministers in forming their plans. There is, consequently, a perpetual danger, that the most solemn determination of to-day in a right direction, will to-morrow give way to some proceeding already condemned by reason: and soon, in its turn, to be condemned again upon experience of its erroneousness.

The despatches of Lord Stanley, of Mr. Gladstone, and of Earl Grey, during the last five years, offer abundant instances of this discreditable state of things; and do but present a repetition of what has been going on in the Colonial Office respecting convict transportation for the last twenty years and more. One broad fact explains all this, namely, the profound ignorance of the Colonial Office touching the elements of the whole matter. Not only is that ignorance the occasion of daily reproach at home, and of as perpetual complaint in the colonies, but in an official document published last year, Mr. Gladstone confessed the fact without reserve. Incredible as this assertion may seem, it is capable of demonstrative proof; and the ignorance so confessed is beyond all doubt attributable to the Colonial Office itself.

In the House of Commons' paper, No. 178, for 1846, certified by Lord Lyttleton, then under-secretary of state, in page 61, is the following document, here copied verbatim:—

‘Copy of a Despatch from the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Eardley Wilmot, Bart.

‘Downing Street, 10th April, 1846.

‘SIR,—It has appeared to me very desirable that Her Majesty's Government should have at their command the means of ascertaining the amount of crime in Van Diemen's Land, and the class of the population



by which crime is usually committed ; I have therefore to desire that you will for the future transmit to me periodical returns of the population of Van Diemen's Land, showing—

1. The total amount of the population.
2. The number of free persons who have never been convicts.
3. The number of emancipists.
4. The number of persons holding conditional pardons.
5. The number holding tickets of leave.
6. The number of passholders employed.
7. The number of passholders unemployed.
8. The number in the probation gangs.

Accompanied by returns showing the number of police offences, of committals, and of convictions to final judgment, classified according to the above division of the population.

‘ I have, &c.

(Signed)

‘ W. E. GLADSTONE.’

To be sure it was ‘very desirable that her Majesty’s Government should have at their command the means of ascertaining the amount of crime in Van Diemen’s Land,’ as Mr. Secretary Gladstone here says on the tenth of April, 1846; a few days before he signified to the governor of New South Wales, his intention to *renew* transportation to that colony. And if knowledge of so capital a fact was desirable in Mr. Gladstone’s time, it was not less so in Lord Stanley’s, when the *old* scheme of founding convict settlement in North Australia was completed. Such new acts as those two of Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Stanley, done in the dark as to our experience in Van Diemen’s Land, and if in Van Diemen’s Land, so in New South Wales also, constitute grave charges against their administrations.

But what will be thought of the Colonial Office in our time, when it shall be seen as the truth is, that what is thus formally required by the secretary of state from the governor of Van Diemen’s Land in 1846, was, in a great measure, expressly enjoined by Act of Parliament in 1823, and provided for by the returns usually furnished by the local authorities after that period. The statute of 1823, was framed with great care upon the able report of Commissioner Bigge, with the immediate object of securing to the government at home, a regular and periodical supply of the knowledge asked for by Mr. Gladstone. The Act was duly executed both in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land. Large masses of valuable information were sent to Downing Street in compliance with it; and about 1830, the late member for Jersey, Mr. Briscoe, called for their production. They ought to have been analysed from the first; and so presented to Parliament in a readable shape. Distinc-

tions could easily have annexed all new elements of penal discipline, such as *passholding*, and *probation gangs*, to the older ones. But, in point of fact, either the practice established by the Act of 1823 has been abandoned; or the returns which it originally prescribed, are no more thought about in the Colonial Office.

It is not too late for analyses to be made of the returns which did once come home; and of which those produced upon Mr. Briscoe's motion were part. Such collective materials are invaluable; and accompanied by other statistics, they would remove most of the difficulties occasioned by the conflicting opinions of the best informed individuals. Upon these authentic grounds it is, that convict transportation must stand or fall. Running over many years, and recording the criminal results of all the conflex circumstances of convict society, they confirm, or refute the popular objections to it.

In the convict colonies, numerous systems have been in force during the last twenty-five years; and the number of criminals congregated together is so great, that the character of every change of system is speedily shewn, by changes in their conduct. Something like an average, therefore, may be struck upon each kind of discipline. Thus, extreme severity of punishment uniformly produces full calendars in the various courts of justice; and laxity of administration even with a milder code has the same tendency. The Colonial Office will never obtain public respect, until it has ceased to neglect colonial statistics, and all the other branches of colonial information which give to dry statistics their true value.

A curious example occurred lately before a committee of the House of Lords, of the indifference with which these sources of knowledge are treated by men of considerable authority. Lord Brougham has taken up the vindication of transportation; and when a witness was produced before the committee capable of shewing the exact amount of crime committed by having as attorney-general, for a certain length of time, had official access to every thing connected with it, his lordship, the chairman of the committee, fell foul of the colonial lawyer, with the virulence of a partisan, and attempted to pull to pieces what did not square with his own foregone conclusions. It is not yet too late for Lord Brougham, and the House of Lords to procure the true and rigorous *statistics* of convict crime, so as to be relieved from vague, mistaken, or interested personal testimony.

Before carrying his resolution into effect, Mr. Gladstone called for the opinions of the colonists upon the subject. This call, made in April, 1846, has produced public meetings in New South Wales; and memorials and petitions signed by many

thousands of the people, one by 6,765, another by 1,210, others by fewer subscribers.

Of the unanimity of the people of New South Wales on the subject, there is no doubt. The legislative council of that colony, to which the petitions were addressed, appointed a committee to examine the question, and that committee made a report from which the following passage is extracted:—

‘Your committee are sufficiently cognizant of the state of public feeling among their fellow-colonists at large to be satisfied that—if the proposed renewal of transportation were any longer practically and substantially an open question—if it rested with the colonists themselves to decide whether the deportation of convicts to this hemisphere should cease or continue—if it were thus placed at their option, whether they would at once and for ever free themselves and their posterity from the further taint of the convict system, doubtless a large majority, especially of the operative classes, would give the proposal for renewed transportation an unhesitating veto.’

This committee, however, influenced by the idea that the Home Government had resolved, at all events, to renew transportation to New South Wales, fell in but too zealously with a measure which they declared to be odious to their constituents.

Earl Grey has announced to the House of Lords that the ministers who succeeded Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have resolved ‘virtually to abolish transportation;’ and a beginning has been made in this new policy, by *suspending* that of men for two years. It is to be regretted that so great a change is begun without the solemn and direct sanction of Parliament. The doubt that has been expressed upon the *power* of the crown to *suspend* transportation by the prerogative, seems to be well founded. The Colonial Office has been let alone so long by Parliament and by the public, whilst performing the most outrageous acts, that it is led, by mere habit, to do even a good thing illegally.

The tasks undertaken by her Majesty’s ministers for the reform of our penal system, is too momentous to belong to the closets of a public office; and all the wisdom, with all the power of both houses of parliament, must be appealed to, in order to execute this task. But it is a noble thing to have begun so great a reform. When the vain struggle of more than two centuries against convict transportation is considered, and when that bad system is seen to have defied the wise warning of Bacon;\* the humour of Defoe;† the patriotism of Frank-

\* See Lord Bacon’s ‘Essay on Plantations.’ 1600.

† See Defoe’s ‘Colonel Jack.’ 1700.



lin;\* the humane judgments of Blackstone, Howard, and Eden;† and the sagacity of Bentham;‡—it may be permitted to their more fortunate followers, led by the learned and zealous Archbishop of Dublin, § to be proud of their coming success. To Lord Brougham belongs the memorable part of standing in the way of reform, and of thus aggravating the difficulty of obtaining it.

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ART. VII.—*The History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England, since the period of the Reformation, with an Introduction, containing an account of the development of the principles of Independency in the age of Christ and his Apostles, and of the gradual departure of the Church into anti-Christian error, until the time of the Reformation.* By Joseph Fletcher, Editor of the 'Select Works and Memoirs of the late Dr. Fletcher,' &c. London: John Snow. 1847.

It is impossible to contemplate the leading events of the political world, or the great questions which are now agitating the churches of Christ, and the councils of anti-christ, without regarding the subject of the work before us as one of inconceivable importance; and that man is no prophet, who does not see, that it must shortly become the grand controversy of the world? Are the realms of conscience to be governed by man or by God? Are the churches of Christ to be regarded as voluntary and independent associations, or as mere vassals, subject to the will, and dependent on the pleasure of task-masters? These are the mighty questions, in which the followers of Christ and the rulers of the world are, at present, most deeply concerned. As fast as the hours can carry us, we are advancing towards the crisis, the grandest in the annals of time, in which these questions must be decided. Whether we turn our attention to newspapers or religious periodicals, to the signs of the times or the sure word of prophecy, we hear distinctly the clash and roar of a battle, at no great distance, which will shake the earth, and settle the boundaries between

\* See Dr. Franklin's indignant retort against convicts being sent to North America. 1750.

† Blackstone and Eden warmly opposed the desecration of Botany Bay by making a convict settlement of it. 1780–5.

‡ In one of his earliest and best works Mr. Bentham denounced convict transportation by the detail of its inevitable evils.

§ Archbishop Whately has been engaged for eighteen years in exposing the evils of transportation.

human and Divine authority, speedily and for ever. In the existing state of things, neither the rulers of the world nor the churches of Christ can carry out their purposes; and there is nothing to keep the wheels of time from a dead lock, but a speedy and final settlement of the conflict between human laws and the word of God.

Any apology, therefore, for a work so seasonable, as the one before us, excepting as it may serve to show the modesty of the writer, will appear, we feel assured, to our readers, a mere waste of paper. A few years back, when our good, easy dissenters were wrapt in elysian dreams, that ecclesiastical despotism, if left alone, would be kind enough to destroy itself, a few preparatory sentences of apology, from an author who ventured to disturb their slumbers, might perhaps, for his own safety have been desirable. But the events of a few short months have called back millions, already, from the land of visions to the stern realities of life; the drowsiest amongst us are now opening their eyes to the fact, that war is at our gates; and, though the faithful sentinels, who sounded the first alarm, were rebuked as disturbers of the peace; no one, now employed in furnishing suitable weapons for the conflict, will be condemned by his comrades as troublesome or officious.

Our author therefore, in the present instance, may safely give his anxieties and apologies to the wind. His present production will not be regarded by any one as born out of due time; and we shall be greatly mistaken, if those, who read it as attentively as we have, do not acknowledge that, in addition to its seasonableness, it is possessed of great intrinsic worth. Within the same compass, it has rarely been our lot to meet with a larger amount of sterling good sense; and we know of no work, in which the subject of Independency is exhibited with so much clearness and force. More brilliant, pointed, or subtle disquisitions on portions of that subject, are sometimes to be met with either in ordination sermons or in productions of the press; but so clear, tangible, and convincing an exposition of the whole question we have never before seen. Instead of perplexing himself and his readers with minute details, Mr. Fletcher has very wisely and ingeniously reduced the whole subject to three great principles; well assured that, these being established, the settlement of all minor points will follow as matter of course. He lays down therefore as his first proposition, that 'every *individual* is independent of human authority in all matters pertaining to religious faith and practice.' Secondly, that 'every congregation, or local church composed of Christians, meeting in one place, is independent, internally and externally, of all human authority in matters of religion.'

Thirdly, that 'the churches of Christ in their *aggregate character* are independent of all state connection, sanction, influence, and subordination whatever, as independent communities, whose catholicity or oneness is religious, and for religious ends only.'

After a very judicious and luminous statement of these principles, and a most triumphant appeal to the testimony of Christ and his apostles in proof of their validity, in a line of argument strikingly direct, forcible, and in many respects original, our author enters upon the history of subsequent ages; pointing out as he goes along the various ways, in which one principle of independency after another was corrupted and destroyed. But this was no pleasant task. To pass from the Christianity of Christ and his apostles to that of synods and bishops, popes and fathers, must have been like stepping out of Goshen into the surrounding darkness which might be felt; and we do not wonder that, like Christian when entering into the valley of the shadow of death, our author should shudder at the prospect of the dismal path he had to tread.

'We now,' he says, 'take leave of this portion of our subject, in order to review the history of the church of Christ (?) in ages succeeding the apostolic. We seem to be passing from holy to common ground. . . . The personal ministry of the great Head of the church has ceased. Apostles no longer watch over the disciples. Every living inspired voice is silent. The footsteps of infallible men no longer awaken the echoes in the peaceful vale, where the sheep are gathered. The age of miracles is past. Nature resumes her ordinary operations. Prophetic warnings sound in our ears respecting grievous wolves that shall devour the flock, and false teachers that shall lead astray; but no infallible living guide remains to set things in order, to rebuke or even to reprove. . . . We seem to leave the bright circle in which heavenly voices, actually blending with the human, syllable forth the indications of the Divine will, directing, instructing, warning, reproof; and we descend to the common earthly ground, where human voices alone are heard—a mingled and confused sound—and only replete with truth and harmony in so far as they echo the sentiments of the Written Word.

'Let us descend, then, and 'try the spirits whether they be of God.'—pp. 96, 97.

Between the realms of light and darkness, there lies, in the age immediately succeeding the apostles, as our readers are most of them aware, a kind of twilight region, which our author next proceeds carefully to explore. For this purpose he avails himself largely of the researches of Leander, Giesler, Mosheim, Bingham, Whately, Coleman, Bennet, and the Biblical Review; under whose guidance, he shews most clearly, that the testimony of Clement, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr, is decidedly in



favour of independency; and that the alleged counter-testimony of Ignatius, in consequence of the shameless liberties which subsequent ages have taken with his writings, is utterly worthless. The glaring discrepancies between the longer and shorter Greek texts and the recently discovered Syrian version of the epistles, to which the name of the good old martyr has been appended, are distinctly pointed out; and the quotations from competent critics, with which our author has strongly fortified himself, are such as to render his position impregnable.

In the next age, we see the effects of a gradual but decisive and fatal innovation. The idea of a visible catholic church, unknown to former ages, now begins to prevail. A presiding bishop learns to style himself, not *a* bishop, but *the* bishop of the church, and at length wholly engrosses the episcopal name, in distinction from his fellow bishops or presbyters, whom he regarded, till now, as his equals. Greece, in imitation of her political confederacies, introduces the practice of convoking synods or councils, as they were subsequently styled by the Latins; which, though at first nothing more than friendly associations, gradually acquire authority, and sap the independency of the churches. Now it was that Levitical analogies were most effectually employed to corrupt the simplicity of the Christian ministry, and advance the growth of hierarchical pretension. Distinctions between the clergy and laity, town and country, metropolitan and other bishops, now begin to prevail; Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, &c., as important cities and scenes of apostolic labour, demand from other cities the acknowledgment of their metropolitan superiority; and Rome begins to whisper that she is the mistress of them all. As a natural consequence the word of God loses its authority, and the doctrines and ordinances of religion are gradually perverted and changed. Baptism is confounded with regeneration; episcopal confirmation is added to baptism; the eucharist, no longer a feast of commemorative love, is converted into a sacrifice; and no one must partake of the bread and wine, until they are offered upon the altar by a human mediator or priest. As a matter of course a gorgeous hierarchy must have a gorgeous worship; and the ministers of religion, though still nominally chosen by the people, begin to reign like kings or despots over the professed followers of the Lord. In Mr. Fletcher's observations, on what he styles the second post-apostolic age, or the age of innovation, all these points are handled with much force and precision; and we cannot but regard this chapter as by far the ablest in the volume.

The period from Constantine to Charlemagne, and onwards to the separation of the east and western churches, our author

denominates the third post-apostolic age, or the age of subversion; and shews in what way, through the union of the church and state, the last traces of religious freedom were obliterated. The next age, from A.D. 1073, to 1517, he shews to have been of the purest despotism, in which the 'Man of Sin,' was suffered to reign in all his glory. A valuable appendix on 'the assembly at Jerusalem,' 'the Epistles of Ignatius,' and 'the Forgery of the Clementines,' follows and completes the present volume, the only one, we believe, as yet published; though we hope it will not be long before the others make their appearance.

Had our space allowed, it would have afforded us great pleasure to enter much more fully into the merits of this judicious and well-timed production, and to have gratified our readers by copious citations. But with one or two remarks, on the literary qualities of the work, we are compelled to bring our observations to a close. From what we have already advanced it will be seen, that, in our judgment, the manner, in which our author has hitherto executed his difficult undertaking, is on the whole highly satisfactory. Remarkably free from the slightest taint of sectarianism, he writes, throughout, with the spirit of one who is anxious only for the truth, but is at the same time justly confident of the validity and worth of the principles which he maintains. His reasoning, on every point, is sound, massive, and clear; and his style firm, simple, and perspicuous; and, therefore, admirably adapted to the nature of his work. Occasionally, however, he has suffered himself, apparently with a view to effect, to be drawn away from his own manly simplicity of thought and expression into a declamatory diffuseness, which, in historical, not to say philosophical writing, cannot be reconciled with good taste. In these passages, without considering sufficiently how widely the historical style should differ from the oratorical, and how essentially from the peculiar character of his mind, the style of one writer ought to differ from that of another, Mr. Fletcher appears, evidently, to have taken for his model, the late excellent Dr. M'All. Hence, his eloquence, like the gait of a person attempting to keep step with another of very unequal stride, is in the cases alluded to, over-strained and artificial: full of the laboured inversions, measured pauses, and wearisome antitheses of the original, without the polished gracefulness, the lofty conceptions and dazzling fancies which gave them attractiveness and power.

In discharging the duties of a friendly critic, we say, let all ambition of ornate or impassioned eloquence, especially in the prosecution of such a work as the present, be laid aside: assured, from the more masculine qualities of our author's mind, that a higher fame is within his reach. With a retentive

memory, a solid judgment, a clear, philosophical, perception, and a strong and comprehensive grasp of thought, together with a large amount of that kind of imagination, which the calm dignity of philosophical history requires, Mr. Fletcher's own genius, if he gives it fair play, cannot fail of insuring his success. We venture, therefore, to say, let all oratorical models be laid aside, let semi-poetical phrases, (and therefore in prose semi-barbarous) such as 'chronicled,' 'syllable forth,' 'pale his light,' together with such expressions, as 'Shade of Clement,' &c., be for ever avoided—let him use his own words, trust his own powers, and he cannot but prosper. In justice, however, to our author, we are bound to say, that these blemishes, are very few and of comparatively trifling importance, and that a better work on the subject of Independency we have never seen.

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ART. VIII.—*Political Economy, and the Philosophy of Government; a series of Essays selected from the works of M. de Sismondi, with an Historical Notice of his Life and Writings.* Translated from the French, and illustrated by Extracts from an unpublished Memoir, and from M. de Sismondi's private Journals and Letters; with a Preliminary Essay, by the translator. London: John Chapman. 1847.

THE first essay in the present work, extracted from the *Revue Encyclopédique* for September 1826, is entitled 'Preface to new Principles of Political Economy, and the light which they may cast on the crisis which England is at this time experiencing.' In that essay it is said, describing the condition of our country in 1826:—

'Universal competition, or the effort always to produce and always cheaper . . . . has caused production by manufactures to advance with gigantic steps; but it has, from time to time, precipitated the manufacturers into frightful distress. . . . Crises utterly unexpected have succeeded one another in the commercial world; the progress of industry and opulence has not saved the operatives who created this opulence from unheard of sufferings. . . . In this astonishing country, which seems to be submitted to a great experiment for the instruction of the rest of the world, I have seen production increasing while enjoyments were diminishing. . . . I see the enterprizes of commerce embrace the whole world; its agents brave the ices of the Pole, and the heats of the equator, whilst every one of its leading men meeting at the Exchange can dispose of thousands. At the same time, in the streets of London, and in those of the other great towns of England, the shops display goods sufficient for the con-



sumption of the world. But have riches secured to the English merchant the kind of happiness which they ought to ensure him? No. In no country are failures so frequent—no where are those colossal fortunes, sufficient in themselves to supply a public loan to uphold an emperor or a republic, overthrown with so much rapidity. Twice within an interval of a few years, a terrible crisis has ruined part of the bankers, and spread desolation among all the English manufacturers. Another crisis has ruined the farmers, and been felt in its rebound by retail dealers. . . . Has not England, by forgetting men for things, sacrificed the end to the means? Her example is so much the more striking, because she is a free, enlightened, well-governed nation!

So far we use M. de Sismondi, and at once we part from him, meaning, on the present occasion, to take no further notice of his work, bearing him much respect as an earnest, but not deep inquirer after truth, and praising his writings as always affording us instruction. We have quoted the passage as an introduction to our remark, that England is again involved in another crisis, such as M. de Sismondi deplored in 1826, and is again submitted to 'a terrible experiment' for her own instruction, and the instruction of the rest of the world. M. de Sismondi and his translator must excuse us, but we have no time for mere criticism; the recurring and now *frequently* heard-of sufferings of the operatives, who have created 'the wealth that fills our shops,' sufficing for the consumption of the world, engages all our affections, and interests all our sympathies. They compel us to leave all meaner things, and devote our whole mind to the elucidation, if we can, of the causes of the terrible crises to which England, apparently more than any other country, is exposed.

We must say at the outset that we have no intention to treat this matter as merchants or bankers, as capitalists or labourers, or to treat it as exclusively affecting the interests of any one class. However admirably each class may do its duty in its own sphere, it is not on that account peculiarly qualified to discuss questions affecting the whole community, or to make laws which under some limited or local title, like the law for regulating the Bank of England, have a powerful and continued influence on the general welfare. As long as the landlords and tenants only, constituting the agricultural interest, were consulted, the corn-laws were highly approved of by the legislature. That they were detrimental even to agriculture, is now ascertained by the exertions that have been made to improve it, since they were seriously threatened. We therefore should no more think of consulting merchants, bankers, and capitalists, exclusively, to explain the present crisis, however much it may affect them,

than of consulting exclusively the agricultural interest on the subject of corn laws. Men strongly biased by their own interest, having their views necessarily contracted by intense and continued application to one subject—not that of the general welfare, are at all times bad councillors for the legislator, and if exclusively attended to, they are equally sure to warp the views of the public writer. We profess, then, a further aim, to be reached by a wider induction, than is to be found recorded in pass-books and ledgers.

Before going further, we must try to remove an error, which meets us at the threshold, and forbids all inquiry, by asserting that crises like these are natural to commerce; and the financier who contributes to bring them on, soothes his conscience and takes refuge from responsibility in the vulgar and unfounded assertion. If the main causes of fluctuations in the conditions of society, be the variations of the seasons as to productiveness, then, as the very business of commerce is to equalize, as far as possible, the effects of these variations, to buy food at the place where it is plentiful, and bring it for sale where it is scarce; to store it up when cheap, and sell it when dear;—the principle of commerce is to prevent such crises, not to bring them on. It would, consequently, be more correct to say that they are natural in the uncivilized state of mankind, before commerce becomes extensive, but that commerce, equalising the effects of the seasons, tends to guard mankind from them. The more extensive commerce becomes, the less frequently they should return; and when they frequently recur with extensive commerce, the more needful it is for the lawmaker, instead of shielding his idleness and his ignorance behind the first error that easy credulity offers to his hand, to inquire into their causes.

Our readers, we take it for granted, cannot be ignorant of the fact that since 1793 at least, and in fact before that period, there has been, at intervals, varying from seven to ten years, a succession of crises such as are mentioned by Sismondi. They have now taken place under almost all conceivable circumstances, at the commencement of war and of peace, and in the midst of both;—before small notes were generally issued, and after they were suppressed; before the restriction on cash payments, during its existence, and after it was put an end to; with currencies wholly metallic, wholly of paper, and mixed of both; when country bankers grew rapidly into existence, and were flushed with success, and when they had almost ceased to exist from bankruptcy, or had been superseded by the more stable joint-stock associations; when paper money had no legal validity, and when it was everywhere, except at the bank counter, a

legal payment equal to gold. When the harvests have been abundant, the agriculturalists have been bankrupts, and when they have been scanty, the manufacturers and merchants have been unable to meet their engagements. As these crises have taken place under such varying circumstances, the successive causes assigned for them have been removed, or have disappeared, one after another; but still they return, and overwhelm us, and carry dismay to the stoutest hearts.

The present crisis seems peculiarly instructive, because it occurs under a system of banking, and under an arrangement of the currency which are supposed to have removed, by giving great stability to the former, and assuring the limitation of the latter—most of the causes assigned for previous similar crises. Banking has been, according to the wish of some economists, placed under the control of legislation, and no paper money is now issued without an adequate security, while its quantity is regulated by the state. Our currency is sound and convertible. Speculation is nowhere excessive; and vast exportations have not been forced, as in former periods. Our trade, it is universally said, is conducted on a sound basis. Nevertheless, the community is filled with alarm. Paper, that in ordinary times the discounters are glad to get, cannot be discounted, except at a high rate. We are assured by Lord Ashburton, and other authorities, that thirteen per cent. has been given on the best bills, and bills that in ordinary times would be considered unexceptionable, cannot be discounted at all. In consequence, much trade is paralysed. Around, and in Manchester, at the commencement of the month, of eight hundred and fifty-two cotton mills, four hundred and five were working short time, and a hundred and twenty were closed. Of 186,386 hands, about 77,000 were fully employed, 83,850 were partially employed, and 24,000 were unemployed. Numerous bankruptcies, such as took place on former occasions, have not yet happened, but it is feared they will happen; and the apprehension of them gives rise to many of our present inconveniences. There have already been at Nottingham and Manchester meetings of the workmen, and more such meetings are anticipated. Bread riots have occurred at various places. There is scarcity, and suspension of employment, and worse is dreaded. So far as these are not the palpable and immediate consequences of the failure of the last harvest, it is required of the intellect of the community to lay bare their causes, that it may be known whether they can be avoided or remedied, or whether they be incurable diseases of our civilisation.

At present the extension of railways is the *beté noire* of our greatest orators and most popular periodical writers. On



former occasions, small notes, country bankers, or unprincipled speculators, were denounced, at once exonerating the legislature from all blame. But there were no railroads at any former crisis except that of 1836-37. As they could have no influence in 1793 and 1826, it may be doubted whether they have any now, or whether they be more than symptoms, which vary according to circumstances. Unquestionably the formation of railways is one of the distinguishing circumstances of the period, and such a novel and vast enterprize must have a commanding influence on society. We, however, are only called on to consider its effects in abstracting floating capital from other occupations, and thereby causing the present monetary crisis.

To say that parliament has authorized within the last two years the application of £124,586,000, to make railways, and of this sum that £28,000,000 has been paid up, in addition to large sums previously appropriated to the same new enterprize, and that this vast amount is to be taken from the floating capital of the country, accounts at once, in the estimation of those who want capital, for the difficulty of procuring it. But of the sum subscribed and appropriated for railways, one portion pays for the land, and in the generality of cases is immediately invested in some other securities, or employed in improving the remainder of the landowner's estate, or it is laid out in consumption, and immediately increases other employments, extends wages and profits, and replaces the capital employed in bringing to market what the landowner consumes. Another large portion goes to buy the wood, the iron, and the bricks, with all the other materials of which the railway is made; and not only immediately pays the wages of all the workmen engaged in procuring or making these materials, but it replaces, with a profit, all the capital of the several merchants and manufacturers who employ men. A still larger portion, perhaps, is directed to pay the wages of all the men who are actually employed in making the railroad, including overseers, clerks, secretaries, directors, &c., but the bulk of that portion is immediately spent in consumption, and pays the wages and the profits, and replaces the capital of all the persons (farmers, millers, bakers, butchers, grocers, &c.,) who contribute to supply the wants of the railway labourers. The floating capital of all these tradesmen is replaced, with a profit, every day, and the capital, nominally applied to railways, is really transferred to them. Another portion, and a very large one, consumed in law expenses, fees to parliament clerks, &c., is partly expended on the consumption, and partly turned into capital. Of the whole sum subscribed and expended, all that portion which goes to

pay wages or salaries, and which is expended on immediate consumption through all the persons connected with railways, from the projector, who first issues a prospectus, and employs a printer, till the completed rail is swept clear of all impediments, and the first carriage begins to run, yielding an income to the proprietors, a very large proportion, far from being wholly abstracted from the general floating capital of the country, is actually devoted to replacing, with a profit, all the capital immediately employed in providing the articles consumed.

The mistake of those who are struck with the magnitude of the sum applied to railways, and assert that it is all abstracted from other occupations, arises from their overlooking this fact. Enormous as the amount appears, it is a trifle compared to the whole amount of capital in the country, as measured by the successive transfers and replacements of capital which take place day by day. Besides the land, there is nothing whatever diverted by railways from other occupations, but the labour employed in making them.

But of labour, there is a surplus in the country; and though the great extension of railways has, in some cases, beneficially raised the rate of wages, yet they are not exorbitant, and no great and necessary work has been given up or left incomplete, for want of labour. On the contrary, cultivation generally, and drainage in particular, has extended with railways. Around the metropolis, and in other parts of the country, new and splendid towns have been run up. Throughout the manufacturing districts, we hear of new furnaces and new factories; many ships too, have been built; until the check in the present spring, every branch of business was flourishing, and certainly no one has been delayed by a want of hands. Railways have created a vast quantity of employment, and have roused into activity much labour that would otherwise never have existed. But labour is the parent of capital. The labour on railways has stimulated other labour, and in every department of industry has increased production. One species of industry begets another, and every species gives profit to the capitalist—for that is at present the condition which it is expected to fulfil when exercised—and promotes accumulation. The more there is of labour, the faster may capital increase. Since they were first begun, railways have continually called into life new labour, and have created probably as much, or more capital than is required to carry them on. ‘The last two years,’ said Mr. Morrison, in the House of Commons, on May 14th, and his testimony, as an opponent of railway enterprise is valuable, ‘have been years of business and of *saving*.’ The assertion, then, that railways abstract vast sums from the floating capital of the country, does not suffice

to explain the present pressure. Those who make it think only of the nominal capital, which they compare with the amount of currency, while the only thing really abstracted from other employments, is the labour applied to railways. On the whole, the construction of them has rather added to than subtracted from the floating capital of the country. How they have influenced the present crisis, we shall hereafter consider.

The principal fact which ushered that in was the failure of the potatoe crop. Throughout Ireland and throughout the greater part of England, that was lost. The crops, too, of spring corn last year, were generally deficient. Some part of the censure thrown on railways is, that under these circumstances they have given a great stimulus to consumption. But railway projectors are no more to blame than other men for not having foreseen the potatoe rot. Those who make the accusation imply that if the harvest had been very abundant, railways would have been deserving of support; and that not railways, but the seasons are in fault. So far as such a general calamity should delay the progress of railways, that must be determined by the price of provisions and the rate of discount. Members of parliament who wish to check that progress, will find we are afraid soon enough that it is sufficiently delayed, when the workmen are discharged, and contribute to swell the mass of the unemployed, in the manufacturing and agricultural districts.

The value of the lost potatoe crop in Ireland alone has been currently estimated at £16,000,000, and we shall put down £10,000,000 for the loss of the crops last year in Great Britain, making a total of £26,000,000. Mr. McCulloch estimated the income of the people of Great Britain alone at £310,000,000 in 1839. Since that period, it has probably increased more than one-tenth; but assuming the increase to be no more, that will give £341,000,000 as the income of 1846. Adding, according to Mr. McCulloch's estimate, about £60,000,000 for all Ireland, we shall have £400,000,000, speaking in round numbers, as the income of the united empire. The most valuable of our cereal crops were last year abundant, and consequently the loss of £26,000,000, or less than one-thirteenth of the whole income of the people; while to lose a third of the more valuable cereals, is no extraordinary occurrence—is not sufficient, of itself, to account for the derangement of the whole social economy of the empire.

The loss was, in one respect, very unusual. It fell almost exclusively on the lower, and nearly destitute classes, who had nothing they could give up, and continue to live. In general, the failure of the crops is shared, in the first instance, by a great number of capitalists, and ultimately it is distributed over



a vast body of opulent consumers. A loss, twice as great in amount as that of last year, spread over the whole empire, would only have enforced more care and prudence than usual, and spurred on exertions to procure a sufficient supply. But falling on the destitute Irish, and exposing many of them, in the absence of a poor law, and with a landed proprietary, in general, regardless of their wants, to death from starvation, the government thought it necessary to interfere. Into that questionable policy, that wide departure from all general principles, we shall no further enter than to say, that a delusive reliance on the resources of the government, imagined to be almost infinite, immediately superseded care and frugality, where these virtues were most needed, promoted a great increase of consumption, prevented a sense of scarcity from reaching all classes in due season, pressed upon the money market, already weighed down with the claims of commerce, and produced a host of evils which the failure of the potatoe crop itself would never have engendered. We refer to the matter, to draw the attention of our readers to the effect of the government, at such a time, going into the market for a loan. It borrowed £8,000,000 to relieve the Irish; it borrowed, also, in the course of last year—and this, besides the temporary relief it gave last year—£2,000,000, to advance to the Irish landlords, and for reclaiming waste lands in Ireland, a part of the loan having since been transferred to railroads; and £2,000,000 to advance to the landlords of Great Britain to improve their estates, making a loan, when there was a great pressure in the money market to carry on the usual amount of commerce, of £12,000,000. In 1793, Mr. Pitt's loan of only £4,500,000, in conjunction with the French war, which was not quite so disastrous to trade, as the loss of the potato crop, preceded, if it did not suffice to cause, the great money convulsion of that year. We must assert, therefore, that the ministerial loans, amounting to £12,000,000, in 1846 and 1847, had no inconsiderable effect in bringing about the tightness of money, which has lately been experienced in every branch of trade.

But the chief consequence of the failure of the crops was the necessity to import great quantities of food. A large increase in our exports preceded the crisis of 1809, 1811, and 1825-6. Foreign loans were contracted for in England, at the latter period, to the amount of £55,000,000, which were mostly remitted in commodities. In 1835-6, too, there were prodigious exports, amounting in the two years to £163,606,368 official value, as compared to £135,020,889 exports in 1833-4. On the present occasion, the exports fell off from £53,298,026 declared value in the year ending January 5, 1846, to £51,279,735 in the year ending January 5, 1847. In 1836-7, we could

throw some blame on the United States; now we can scarcely give them sufficient praise for their assistance. There is now no repudiation to censure. The great excess in our one-sided traffic is all of imports. In several articles there has been an increase; but in bread stuffs the increase has been astonishing. In 1846, the foreign grain entered for home consumption amounted to four million, three hundred and five thousand, one hundred and eighty-five quarters, and three million, five hundred and thirty-six thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one hundred weight of flour and meal; while, in the preceding year, the grain entered for home consumption amounted to one million, three hundred and forty-four thousand, six hundred and seventy-five quarters, and the flour and meal to six hundred and thirty-two thousand, four hundred and seventy-nine hundred weight, the increase in 1846 being more than treble the quantity of grain, and more than quintuple the quantity of flour in 1845. This excess of imports continues in the present year, and amounted in the first three months to three million, one hundred and ninety thousand quarters. All this is true wealth, and though it has to be, or is paid for, it is such an addition to our means of subsistence as is calculated to fill our hearts with rejoicing. Such a vast supply commanded by our commerce is really a happy augury for the difficult times that yet stand before us. The destitute Irish, indeed, have nothing wherewith to buy the produce of foreign lands; from the practice of the only industry they are acquainted with, that of tilling the soil, they have been tempted or debarred; and having nothing, should their crops again be, as apparently they will be, insufficient, they must, of necessity, be fed by the labour of England. Our gigantic power will be, we hope, if left unfettered, commensurate to the great task; but should another failure of our harvest occur, it may be doubtful if the whole world will then be able to supply our wants. Of that dread future we do not seek to lift the veil; we see, on the one hand, in the skilful industry of our people, a wonderful power of purchasing; but we see, on the other, a possibility of another scarcity occurring over the whole of Europe, and we can only trust, without exactly seeing the way, that the closely compacted millions in these islands will even then procure a sufficiency of food.

Our special business, however, is not with the future supply, which well deserves the consideration of statesmen, who should remove every obstacle out of its way, but with the effect which the great importations of food have had on the money market. Merchants and manufacturers willingly refer their embarrassments to this cause; but it is rather singular that the difficulty of raising money is not felt by those who import and deal in

bread stuffs. Every cargo they have imported has come to a rising market, and might be instantly turned into money with a profit. For it there have been many bidders, and no want of means to make the purchase. To commerce, which at this season of dearth supplies our wants, we are deeply indebted, and it smacks of ingratitude to ascribe to its beneficial exertions the derangement of the money market, placing on its shoulders the consequences of the improvident policy of the government, and of the unthrifty enterprizes and damaged credit of every suffering manufacturer and trader in the empire. The importations of food, which are so beneficial, seem to us no more calculated than the loss of £26,000,000 by the failure of the harvest, or than the supposed employment of forty millions of capital in railways to explain the general derangement of trade now complained of.

All these circumstances have been influential; but the mode in which they have operated seems to require explanation. Formerly, individuals grew corn or wove cloth chiefly to supply their own wants, and only disposed of the surplus. Now, corn is grown and cloth woven almost exclusively to sell, a happy change, which makes the prosperity of all the industrious classes,—the great multitude of mankind; for, however much skill and knowledge may lighten his task, man must still live by labour,—dependent on the prosperity of those he works for, in whatever country he may live. There is no other means of paying for cloth but by corn, or some other product of labour, and thus the real payment for the produce of one industrious man is always the produce of some other industrious man. The Manchester cotton spinner is paid by bread, bacon, and groceries. Accordingly, the value of what is produced in Manchester depends not exclusively on the labour employed in producing it, but on the quantities of other things produced for which it is to be exchanged. It is this circumstance which makes the failure of the crops so influential on trade. The value of the produce of the manufacturer is lessened materially by the failure of the harvest in Ireland.

Had the importations to which derangement is ascribed been over and above the ordinary harvests, they would have added to the value of the manufacturer's products, and we should have heard no complaints; but being substituted for losses they are blamed, as if they had caused them. The wheat, oats, bacon, and butter, usually imported into England from Ireland, and constituting the real payment for much of the labour of Manchester, were this year not to be had. Not the exportation of gold, not the importation of corn, but the want of importations from Ireland has reduced the value of goods in Manchester. Unfortunately



there was another failure of a similar kind in the United States which affected Manchester in the same way. The cotton crop, the payment for much of the finished manufacture, was deficient. The total quantity of cotton in Liverpool, London, and Glasgow, which is the best criterion of the deficiency, as that is the stock to which the manufacturers have immediate access, was on April 30th, 1845, one million and forty thousand five hundred and four bales; 1846, nine hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred bales; and 1847, six hundred and forty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty bales; showing a decrease of about forty per cent. in the present year, as compared to 1845, of the quantity of raw cotton offered to the manufacturer in exchange for his finished goods. Thus both the quantity of cotton and the quantity of food to be exchanged for manufactures have suffered a serious decline. While the manufacturers must give more for the raw material, their finished production fetches less. Similar facts are true of other manufactures, though they do not suffer in the double manner that the cotton manufactures are suffering. Considering the extent of the operations of the numerous trades connected with cotton, such a combination of circumstances explains their difficulties, and is almost sufficient to explain the national embarrassment.

Manchester, in truth, and we use the term to represent the manufacturing interest of England, is affected by the potato rot. Some insects, in the United States, or something in the soil, have, by lessening the cotton crop, lowered the value of our products. Those who are unable to sell at the prices they expected, and within the time they expected, find a difficulty in taking up their acceptances. They want a great deal more than their accustomed money accommodation. Those who deal in money, or have to lend, are as well acquainted with the circumstances which have influenced the value of their manufactures as the manufacturers themselves, perhaps better. They look forward, too, because they lend for repayment; and they are aware, as the means of payment have to such a great extent failed, that the depreciation of the value of manufactures must continue or be increased. Of course they are not so ready as in abundant seasons to lend; in many cases they will not lend at all, and in others require a high premium, or rate of discount, for the increased risk they run. Hence from the failure in the crops, comes tightness in the money market.

This teaches us a not unimportant lesson. The manufacturers have a strong pecuniary interest, we see, strictly coincident with the interests of humanity, in the welfare of the peasantry of Ireland; were they, in general, well provided for, habitually opulent instead of subsisting only on lumpers, they could spare something

still for the products of our manufactures in spite of the loss of their harvest. But, being so wretchedly poor, their loss not only deprives the manufactured articles of value, and checks the credit of the manufacturers, it also, from the necessity to maintain them by a loan, lessens the power of lenders to accommodate the manufacturers. The destitute are driven to feed on their stock and their seed, and thus their poverty forces them to eat up the germs of the future prosperity of Manchester. Its markets at present have failed, and in future will be diminished. The growing prosperity of the United States may partly supply the loss of the produce of Ireland, but the declension of the sister island for years, which cannot it is believed under our present policy now be averted, will be a permanent injury to the people who were paid for their labour by the bacon, butter, meat, and corn, imported from Ireland.

What is true of the destitute condition of the Irish peasantry is true of other labourers. On their abundance, if abundance they have, the capitalist, by a reduction of wages, when a struggle ensues, can fall back, and then they share with him one general calamity. It is spread over a greater number and more easily borne. But when the labourers are habitually destitute, as is the case generally with the Proletarii of Europe, they have nothing to give up, and when the harvest fails, must be provided for by the state or the workhouse. It is greatly, then, for the advantage of the opulent that the poor should have abundance, and their general destitution, as is now exemplified by the Irish, when any loss occurs, is sure to overwhelm capitalists with ruin. We shall understand the whole phenomena better by now turning our attention to credit.

Mr. Tooke observes, speaking of the crisis of 1792-3, which he calls a memorable derangement of commercial credit, that 'one of its principal causes was an undue extension of the system of credit.' Of the crisis of 1836-7, he says, 'it was quite clear in the spring of 1836, as it had been in 1825, that a considerable part of the speculations in shares could only have admitted of proceeding to the length that they had done by an undue extension of credit, which allowed full scope to the delusive prospects then held out.' He further says, 'the revulsion of credit, and the fall of prices in 1836-7, were the necessary consequences of the previous undue extension of credit and exaggeration of demand.' From the undue extension of credit, which is nearly as perceptible now as in 1792-3, 1824-5, 1836-7, it is customary to conclude against all trading on credit, and under the name of speculation to denounce it as a moral delinquency. The derangement is at no time confined to one country. That of 1792-3 was spread over the continent of Europe; that of

1824-5 extended to all South America and part of Europe; that of 1836-7 included the United States; the present derangement has already affected France and India, and will probably yet embrace a wider circle. However undue may be the extension at times of credit, so universal a practice as trading on credit must have a natural foundation. By tracing it to its source, and observing the laws it ought to follow, we shall more distinctly ascertain its due boundaries and the extent of the divergence. We must know the real uses of a thing before we can tell in what manner and to what extent it is abused.

The just foundations of all credit are the short periods in which the wants of man occur, and the long periods required to procure the means of gratifying them. Hunger, returns daily, or rather twice a day, but bread, from sowing the seed in autumn, till it comes from the bakehouse, requires a year to prepare it. A still longer foresight must be exercised to provide an ample supply of flesh meat. Two, three, or four years are required to bring meat of different kinds to perfection. We want our breakfasts every day, but tea or coffee is not grown and brought to us in less time than bread and meat are prepared. In the great system of division of labour, which is of no mortal contrivance, unless man with all his affections, aptitudes, and intellect, have created himself, and which has for its object the supply of our daily wants, the rewards of some foreseeing toil are not realised for years, while other toil is completed and rewarded in a few hours. The farmer, the grazier, or the India merchant, has to wait a year, or two years for the completion of his produce, but the baker makes and sells his bread in less than a day. A part of the grazier's produce is the hide of the animal, on which he expends labour and care for years before he can sell it; the butcher flays the dead ox and disposes of the hide in a few hours; the tanner does his part with it in a few months; the currier in a few weeks; and the shoemaker in a few days. So through all the varied departments of industry of which these are only illustrations, it requires very different periods to perfect and bring to market different and equally useful commodities. It is usually said, that those who require so long a time to prepare their commodities, subsist in the mean time on previous savings. But this cannot be true, for nearly all the wealth of the world is annually created and annually consumed; much of it, like bread and milk, is of daily production, and whatever a man's wealth or power over the labours of others may be, there nowhere exists at any one moment a supply for a single individual of all useful and agreeable things more than will suffice for the consumption of a few days or hours. It is well known, too, that farmers, whose operations



require the longest periods to complete them, are not in general men of large capital, but an indebted race, who obtain many of their daily supplies by their daily toils, while the animals, or the corn, they are afterwards to sell, are growing under their care to perfection. There exists naturally a great difference in the times required to prepare and bring to market equally useful commodities; and there does not exist any stock ready prepared on which those can daily subsist who are preparing commodities requiring the longest periods to perfect them. Those who prepare them must in the mean time be subsisted, and generally by the labours of others; that is, for the general benefit, or the commodities they are preparing would never be brought to market. These great facts are the just foundations of all trade on credit. The power of the capitalist over labour is the means by which the results are brought about, but the foundations of the credit are these natural facts. It is perfectly clear, that all the operations which require great length of time and much foresight, must be given up, unless credit were the rule, and each person would feel bound to provide for his own daily wants. Thus credit is as indispensable to the progress of wealth as the division of labour of which it is a part and the complement.

The principle gives us the measure of credit. A farmer borrows through the spring and summer up to Michaelmas, or contracts obligations because he knows or expects that his growing crops will then enable him to pay all his creditors. A merchant accepts a bill which somebody discounts on his faith in a cargo which he expects from abroad, or he draws a bill on one he has consigned to some correspondent, knowing the goods will give him, or his correspondent, ample means to take up the acceptance. The manufacturer gives a bill for the raw cotton he requires, expecting by the time the bill is due that enough of his produce will be disposed of to enable him to pay it. Thus, the measure of the amount of credit which an individual, and which all the individuals, engaged in business may take, is the quantity and value of commodities coming to market within a given time. It all rests on future production, or the full and successful completion of human labour. Although modern contrivances, by facilitating communication and production, have shortened the time in which some commodities are brought to market, so as to shorten the future on which credit is taken, yet as society has advanced, foresight has been extended, the sphere of supply has been enlarged, and an increasing number of objects have been made the basis of credit and of calculation for the future. There is a continued accession of new and extended enterprizes, all of which will be the foundation of new credit; and when in addition to the credit justly taken by all those

who have commodities on their way to the market, we find governments and individuals in no wise engaged in production who have only revenue, or a share of other people's productions, on which all the credit that can be legitimate has been taken,—also coming into the credit market and continually borrowing large sums, the rule by which the producer and the merchant can be guided is continually obscured and disturbed. The rectification of their errors,—the adjustment of their hopes to the stern realities of life, brought about at intervals, constitutes the crises, which are full of confusion and misery. What is commonly called the derangement of commercial credit, should be named its rectification, or its restoration to order.

It is plain from the nature of hope which casts its own roseate hues over the future, and is the actuating guide in measuring credit, and from credit being continually taken to an enormous extent by government, and individuals who have nothing, and are to have nothing to redeem it, that credit is at all times fully taken to the amount naturally warranted. It is ever close up to the means of payment. There is always in fact a tendency to overrun them. From this circumstance, any great disaster, a destructive conflagration, a great number of shipwrecks—a failure of the harvest, brings credit to the test of real commodities, and it is ever then found to be in excess. Human skill, aided by all the power which a knowledge of nature can bring to its aid, does not come up to human hopes. Something is sure to happen every few years to check the wild expectation of unfounded avarice, and convince those who undertake to rule the markets of the world, that they are but creatures and servants of a higher power than themselves. Deficient harvests accordingly, as in 1846, and in 1792-3, 1810, and 1836, have very generally been the correctors of false hopes, and the forerunners of crises like the present.

The first person who feels the difficulty, is the enterprising capitalist who carries on a large business, as almost all capitalists now do, partly on credit. He cannot get discount easily; there is a great competition of capitalists for more credit, and the rate of interest rises in the market. The higher premium cuts up all the capitalist's expected profit; his motive for activity and enterprise, if it be in the first instance intensified, to overcome his difficulties, ceases, when he finds them insurmountable, he dismisses his workmen, or he freights no more ships, or he sends abroad no more orders; and, although the enterprising capitalist be the first to suffer, all other classes soon come to suffer through his failure. In fact, he is entrusted with the resources of the nation, and from some mistake has misapplied them. This, we believe, is the general course. First

comes a failure of production, then tightness in the money market, as credit, is seen to be in excess, then the inability of merchants and manufacturers, and all others who rely on credit to meet their engagements; bankruptcy, the suspension of many hopeful enterprizes, the stoppage of much employment, the deprivation of so much wages or means of daily subsistence follow; and hence from credit overpassing the quantities and values of commodities, those wide spread derangements arise, which periodically carry distress and misery through the whole world of commerce, and through all the families of productive labourers.

The extent to which our railways have operated to hasten the present crisis, may now be estimated. They are enterprizes of which the fruit is only realized after long periods. But the beginning operations, particularly all those connected with the Houses of Parliament, and the law and the purchase of land, transfer to many persons, such as attornies, solicitors, barristers, and land-owners, a considerable power over the credit market. A number of additional competitors for credit, based on the future production of railways is created. The quantity of credit taken being always as much as possible, is considerably augmented, while the produce to answer that credit cannot be realized for some years, in many cases never. The more distant the realization, the greater the chance of failure, and of something occurring, like a bad harvest, to bring credit to the test of fact, and prevent the success of the railways. They are a somewhat remarkable example of an enterprize extending over a number of years before it can yield the expected returns; they add, therefore, a large element of probable derangement to the credit market, they are necessarily abundant in delusive hopes, and necessarily call forth the vituperations of those rival claimants on credit whose operation they impede by competition, and bring to an earlier test of reality, than was expected. The difference between the expectation and what is actually realized, not the amount of capital embarked, as in all the other operations of trade and production, is plainly the real measure of the injury done by undue speculation in railways. We must express our regret that the legislature should interrupt their progress, for, except its own foolish bills or grants, we see no reason why it should interfere with the capital to be embarked in railways which would not justify its interfering with the capital to be embarked in draining land, in building houses, or in erecting factories; for each and all these may, in taking credit, as much surpass propriety as railways.

By the daily and weekly journals much is attributed to the action of the Bank of England and the currency. We have



said nothing of either. A careful examination of Mr. Tooke's doctrines have long ago convinced us that the influence of both, over such crises as the present, is insignificant. In comparison to the failure of the crops, the undue extension of credit, and the introduction of new operations extending over long periods before their profitable assets can be realised, the effects of the currency and of the bank monopoly are unworthy of consideration. No change has lately been made in either to account for the present distress. The bank is placed in an anomalous position by the state. It is required to regulate the currency, while it is bound to look after its own interest, which may be temporarily adverse to that of the bulk of the mercantile classes. Under the influence of its dignity being willing beneficially to exert the power given it, disregarding for a time the warnings of facts, and overlooking for a season its own interest, it extended its accommodation almost beyond prudence in the latter end of the last and the three first months of the present year. The bank discounted bills to the extent of £6,000,000 beyond the usual amount, and gave trade on credit that additional assistance. At the same time, between last September and the present April, the diminution of its circulation was £107,008. The diminution of the bullion in its vaults within the same period, which can affect only its own liability yet perfectly undoubted and unquestioned, was less than £7,000,000. We subjoin the return, and believe it will be admitted that, unchanged as the currency has been in respect to the standard, the slight variation in its quantity exhibited by the bank returns, is quite insufficient to account for our present alarm and difficulties.

	Bank Notes in circulation.	Bullion in the Bank.	Bills under discount.
Sept. 19, 1846 ..	£20,922,232..	£16,309,292..	£12,321,816
April 3, 1847 ..	20,815,234..	10,182,408..	18,627,116

It is plain that the amount of bullion in the vaults of the bank, and of bank paper in circulation, are no index to or measure of credit. If the quantities and values of commodities coming to market within a given time are large, and the commodities are speedily expected, and the bills on account of them have only one or two months to run, the accommodation given by the bank, as the bills are successively renewed, and fresh commodities continue to arrive, may amount to six or twelve times its circulation. As the commodities are further off in time, and the bills have longer periods to run, the accommodation will be some less multiple of the bank's means. The accommodation varying between £240,000,000, and £40,000,000 will not depend on the bank, but on the bills and commodities

of its customers. Currency passing from hand to hand will always be obtained when commodities in demand are for sale. It is not too scarce now to pay for cargoes of corn; or to purchase articles of daily consumption. Ready money dealers or dealers on short credit, experience no other difficulty than that which arises from a diminution of consumption, which is common to all retail trade. Wholesale trade, which now suffers from want of discount, is mainly carried on without the intervention of a single sovereign. Thus, as long as the standard of value, whatever its nature, be not tampered with by the government, the quantity of currency is of no importance whatever to our wholesale trade, and of very little consequence to our retail trade. It is natural enough, certainly, but it is an obvious error for those who seek accommodation, and receive it through the immediate instrumentality of bank rules, to imagine there is a scarcity of the instrument when the accommodation is refused, though the real scarcity is not of notes, but of commodities to repay the accommodation. All real trade 'kite-flying' falls under the jurisdiction of the law, not of science—resolves itself into barter, and whenever commodities which are usually exchanged for each other are equally abundant, the means of readily and advantageously exchanging them will always be found. When either is in excess or deficiency, no amount of currency can restore the balance.

We beg not to be misunderstood as offering by these observations any defence of the monopoly conferred on the bank of England, of the restrictions on banking and bankers, and of the solemn falsity enacted by the legislature, that gold is invariably of the same value. Banking as a part of trade, and currency as its instrument, should be uninterfered with by the state, and be left to the natural laws from which all commerce flows. But our regulations were not made yesterday, and if they be injurious now, they must be at all times injurious. We believe they are; they violate principle, and inflict as deep an injury in prosperity as in adversity. They have had no great influence in causing the present distress, and on account of that only, they should not be altered. To all such regulations production and exchange accommodate themselves, though feeling at all times the inconvenience. On principle, undoubtedly, they should be altered or abrogated, but not at the desire of needy men whose incorrect anticipations have led them into difficulties. To comply with their demands, would be only to abolish in haste one noxious regulation, and substitute for it another still more noxious.

We might show at some length, that the remedies generally proposed confirm our views. They all have for their object to

give relief to the enterprizing capitalist, by enabling him to postpone his actual payments. He wants more credit, and all these schemes end in proposing to give it. They would enable the debtor to postpone the day of reckoning; it is not clear that they would enhance his ability to pay. But, however interesting, we cannot now consider this part of the subject. According to our views, the principal causes of crises at all times is an undue extension of credit, sooner or later corrected by short harvests, or some other failure in customary productions. New enterprizes of protracted duration are amongst the many causes which lead to an undue extension of credit, while the interference of government and those who live on revenue with the credit market, are amongst the main causes of its occasional or continual derangement. Temporary and trifling effects may be produced by the action of the currency, of banks and other bodies dealing in money, though subordinate to the general regulations which govern them, which may be excessively injurious, but to which as long as they are permanent, commerce accommodates itself—these effects are trifling in comparison to the natural causes for crises, such as the variations of the seasons, and the ill-regulated hopes of traders. That a love-sick girl should be led astray by such delusions is too common a folly of youth to excite any surprise; but that grave merchants—men whose success depends on the accuracy of their calculations, whose very business it is to weigh and measure all the chances of seasons, and of all customary changes, should be continually as much in error as a hopeful maiden, excites astonishment. We discover nothing in legislation which can supply a remedy for such aberrations. If corrected at all, they can only be corrected by the progress of knowledge, and by removing a moral cause for them which may perhaps be found in the political constitution of society.

According to this view, the active, enterprizing capitalist, who carries on business partly with his own and partly with borrowed capital, is the chief agent in bringing about the crises. The landowners and the labourers are only sufferers by them, and not their active causes. By the repeal of the corn-laws, the former have been saved by the statesman they abhor, from the universal execration which would have fallen on them had their favourite laws co-existed with the present dearth. The bulk of the labouring classes have been distinguished for cheerful, skilful, incessant toil. As they have increased in knowledge, they have become critics of laws, and have demanded other legislation. Never, perhaps, were the laws more generally condemned, and at the same time more generally obeyed. Order has reigned throughout the land, and neither the ruling classes nor the employers can justly accuse the toiling masses with causing



changes from which they are the severest sufferers. The capitalist cannot get his bills discounted, but the labourer loses employment and wages. Perhaps the landlord may feel the indiscretion of the trader on credit, in a difficulty of getting his rent, but the labourer is sure to feel it in slackness of work and deprivation. With the undertaking active capitalist, the other classes, it is apparent, have a common interest. He is the soul of enterprize, and they are elevated by his success, or depressed by his mishaps. In particular the labourers are affected by his conduct, and as his hopes are correct or too sanguine, and blighted by the cold winds of reality, they are subjected to alternations of abundance or destitution. For that we see no other remedy than an habitual and general elevation of the lower classes, which shall enable them to sustain these periodical falls without being entirely ruined.

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### Brief Notices.

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*Lays of Ancient Rome.* By Thomas Babington Macaulay. With Illustrations, Original and from the Antique, drawn on Wood, by George Scharf, Jun. London: Longman & Co.

WE are not surprised at the extensive popularity of this work, nor are we cynically disposed to attribute it to other causes than its merits. It deserves the favour it has won, and will continue beyond the day of its publication, to minister pleasure to the scholar as well as to the general reader. On its first appearance we noticed it at length, and are glad again to meet it in a style of illustration skillfully suited to its character and worthy of its merits.

The illustrations have been engraved, with the greatest accuracy, from designs on the wood by Mr. Scharf, partly selected from ancient monuments and the compositions of Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Montegna, and partly original. The original designs are about thirty in number. For these the most picturesque portions of the text have been selected for illustration; Mr. Scharf's object having been to embody, to the best of his ability, the vivid pictures of the poet's imagination. The illustrations he has selected from the antique, and from the Italian masters, consist of compositions, coins, and other monuments, which serve to illustrate and explain the text.

The 'getting up' of the edition is most admirable. Few volumes are more beautiful in appearance, or more elegantly chaste in their

illustrations. It is equally fitted for the study and the boudoir, and wherever found it will prove a source of refined gratification. The popularity of such publications reflects credit on the public, and will stimulate both authors and artists to labour for the permanent instruction, rather than the ephemeral pleasure, of their countrymen. We are not sorry to see the class of Annuals giving place to works of a higher literary order, and of equal artistic skill.

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*A Synopsis of Criticisms upon those Passages of the Old Testament, in which Modern Commentators have differed from the Authorized Version; together with an Explanation of Various Difficulties in the Hebrew and English Texts.* By the Rev. Richard A. F. Barrett, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vol 1. in two parts, pp. 823. London: Longman & Co.

THE character of this work is very fairly indicated on its title-page. The compiler seems happily free from undue pretension. This favourable impression is confirmed by the preface, which gives evidence also of his good judgment. We there learn that his 'object is to lay before the reader the principal alterations which modern critics have proposed in the authorized version of the Old Testament, together with the reasons for or against such emendations. The plan usually adopted throughout the work has been to give, in the following order,—the Hebrew text; the Septuagint version, taken from the Vatican copy, unless otherwise specified; the Authorized version; and, lastly, the explanations, both of those commentators who support the present version, and also of those who consider the Hebrew text to be corrupt, or to have been misunderstood by our translators.'

As the above plan could not be carried out to much advantage or satisfaction, without having recourse to the German critics, the author has taken care to explain himself in regard to their uses and demerits. The estimate he has formed of them appears to us so entirely just, that we cannot refrain from quoting his language: 'though their neologian or rather infidel principles are highly dangerous, yet where there is no question concerning a doctrine, or the truth of a miracle, the German critics are most valuable: for learning and abilities few can vie with them, and they often prove safer guides to the plain sense of scripture than some of our own orthodox divines; for what can be more hazardous for a man when dealing with the Word of God than to assert that a passage is unmeaning, interpolated, or corrupted, simply because he cannot understand it? Yet we find good and learned men, such as Bishop Lowth, and Bishop Horsley, falling into this error, and unhesitatingly rejecting or altering passages which a German neologian will take in a critical manner, and fairly facing the difficulties, offer a possible if not an easy solution, without having recourse to the unsafe remedy of correcting the text

upon insufficient grounds.' Of the justice of this representation we have a most thorough conviction, resulting from personal experience. But we are constrained to express our sincere regret that a gentleman so competent to appreciate the merits of the German contributions to biblical literature and exegesis, has not made more and better use of them. He has, for instance, made no use of the works written in German, such as Tuch on Genesis, a work of much repute for critical ability. Can it be that he does not read that language? But even the works written in Latin have not been duly pressed into his service, some being wholly unheeded, such as the very useful 'Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus in Vetus Testamentum,' by Maurer, which is in some respects superior to Rosenmüller's 'Scholia,' the work most largely used in the 'Synopsis.' Gesenius is, as might be expected, often quoted in the explanation of words and passages; but very unfortunately the reader is not presented with the latest and maturest views of that great Hebraist, as contained in the new edition of his 'Lexicon,' but with his earlier views, very many of which he lived to modify and even to change completely. It is, indeed, mortifying, that in so important a work, brought out in 1847, Gesenius, whose motto was *Dies diem docet*, is made to speak what he thought in his *first* edition, published in 1810, and translated by Leo in 1825, and not what he thought in 1842, the year of his death, when he prepared his last corrections and additions for his friend Robinson.

The present volume embraces all the criticisms on the Pentateuch. If the remaining books be treated in the same way, there must be at least four volumes more of equal size; which will we fear make the work so expensive that only the rich can buy it. The price is, nevertheless, moderate enough, if we judge of it by the good style and accuracy of the printing and the whole cost of production. We could heartily wish that the literary execution were more entirely worthy of the learning and judgment, which the compiler doubtless possesses. It is, however, due to him to mention, that he intended particularly to aid his clerical brethren, whom he speaks of as generally deficient in Hebrew erudition, a knowledge of that tongue not being required of all candidates for holy orders. To such his 'Synopsis' may be very serviceable; and we fully anticipate for it an extensive sale, and a place in clerical libraries side by side with Bloomfield's 'Critical Digest on the New Testament.'

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*History of the House of Austria, from the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, to the Death of Leopold the Second, 1218 to 1792.* By William Coxe, F.R.S. F.A.S. Third edition. In three volumes. Vols. I. and II. London: Henry G. Bohn.

NEARLY half a century has passed since Archdeacon Coxe published his 'History of the House of Austria' in three quarto volumes,



and nothing has yet appeared in our language to supersede it. The work was open to some exceptions arising from its limited range, and its too favourable estimate of the members of the Austrian House, yet it was distinguished by sterling excellencies, partly arising from extensive research, and partly from its clear and unembarrassed style. Its dimensions and price have prevented it from obtaining a wide circulation, yet two editions have appeared prior to the present. It is wisely adopted by Mr. Bohn in his *Standard Library*, and will, in consequence, doubtless, secure a far larger sale than has hitherto been commanded. It is to be completed in three volumes, of which two are already published, and we strongly recommend it to our readers as a valuable addition to their historical library.

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*History of the Sikhs; containing the Lives of the Goodroos; the History of the Independent Sirdars or Missuls, and the Life of the Great Founder of the Sikh Monarchy, Maharajah Runjeet Singh.* By W. L. M'Gregor, M.D. 8vo. Vol. I.

*The History of the Sikhs, containing an Account of the War between the Sikhs and the British in 1845-6.* By W. L. M'Gregor, M.D. 8vo. Vol. II. London: J. Madden.

WE owe an apology to Dr. M'Gregor, and his publisher, for having permitted these volumes to remain so long unnoticed. It was our intention to have reviewed them at some length, but circumstances over which we had no control have prevented our doing so, and now necessitate their brief introduction to our readers. The information which they contain has been prepared in the country described, or in its immediate vicinity; and a considerable part of the contents of the second volume were 'collected in the very midst of the battle of one of the most memorable campaigns on record.' There is therefore a vividness in the narrative, a life-like character in the descriptions, not ordinarily found in such works. The author writes as an eye-witness, and sets before us the history of the Sikhs, and their military struggles with the British power, in a style which wins continuous attention, even from reluctant English readers. We do not sympathize with some of the views of Dr. M'Gregor, and deeply deplore, in common with many of our countrymen, the recent revival of an aggressive policy on the part of our Indian government. To all such, however, as are desirous of acquainting themselves with the course of Indian affairs, or of knowing the character and eventful history of the chiefs who have acted a distinguished part in them, we strongly recommend his labours. His volumes bear the impress of a sound understanding, and evince accurate and extensive information on the matters detailed.

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*History of the Conquest of England by the Normans: its causes and its consequences in England, Scotland, Ireland, and on the Continent.* By Augustin Thierry, Member of the Institute. Translated from the Seventh Paris Edition, by William Hazlitt, Esq. In two volumes. Vol. I. London: David Bogue.

WE are glad to see this noble work in a form which will render it accessible to the great body of our countrymen. It has obtained an extensive circulation on the Continent, which is sufficiently apparent from the fact of Mr. Hazlitt's translation having been made from the seventh Paris edition of 1846. An English version appeared some years since, but, apart from other circumstances which indicate its inferiority, it contained no portion of the important appendix of *Pièces Justificatives* which add such value and interest to the work, and among which may be mentioned the roll of Battle Abbey, and other lists of the conquerors of England, large extracts from Doomsday Book, illustrative of the state of England at that period; the relation, by a contemporary of the surrender of London to the Normans; a poetical narrative of the Battle of Hastings, by an eyewitness, &c. All these additions, with others of considerable value, are incorporated in the present edition, which is to consist of two volumes. We thank Mr. Bogue for the selection of a work which adds considerably to the value of his *European Library*.

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*Reasons for not Observing the Fast.* By J. P. Mursell. London: Clarke & Co.

THE substance of this tractate was delivered by the author to his usual week-day congregation on the 24th of March, and we should be glad to secure for it the candid perusal of all our readers. It points out with considerable force and discretion the objections which lie against such an observance as has recently been enjoined, and is pervaded throughout by an enlightened and earnest appreciation of the principles which are commended alike by sound philosophy and scriptural truth. We look upon national fasts as at all times questionable in the authority which enjoins them, and as commonly little better than solemn mockeries and hypocrisy. Should any of our readers be unconvinced on this point, they cannot do better than learn wisdom at the hands of Mr. Mursell.

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*The Modern Orator; being a collection of Celebrated Speeches of the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom.* Charles James Fox. Parts I. and II. London: Aylott & Jones.

WE are glad to find that the publishers of *The Modern Orator* are encouraged by the sale of their first volume to prosecute the under-

taking. Our good opinion of the work has been repeatedly expressed. From its first appearance, we regarded it with more than ordinary favour, and cheerfully avail ourselves of the opportunity again afforded to commend it to the warm patronage of our readers. The selection of Mr. Fox's speeches is most wise and opportune. They are specially interesting at the present day, and can scarcely fail to extend the reputation and the usefulness of the series. We hope the editor will not shrink from a liberal use of his discretion in the illustrative notes introduced. There is much room for them, and the acceptableness of his labours will greatly depend on the skill and accuracy with which he discharges this part of his task.

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*The Congregational Year Book for 1846. Containing the proceedings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and its Confederated Societies for that year. Together with Supplementary Information respecting the Churches, Associations, Colleges, Ministers, and Publications of the Congregational Body throughout the United Kingdom. London: Jackson and Walford.*

A LARGE mass of interesting and useful information is brought together and skilfully arranged in this cheap volume, the contents of which are sufficiently denoted on the title-page. To the members of the congregational body, *The Congregational Year Book* will be peculiarly interesting, whilst all others who are concerned to obtain accurate and useful information of what is passing around them will give it a hearty welcome. Few persons are aware of the immense labour which is involved in the preparation of such a work, and we hope that Mr. Blackburn will be sustained by his brethren in carrying out his project. Let us have statistics as full and complete as possible, but let us, at the same time, guard with the utmost jealousy the freedom of individuals and the independency of each of our churches.

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*The History of England during the Thirty Years Peace. 1816—1846. By Charles Knight. Numbers IV. and V. London: Charles Knight.*

THIS work was commenced in February, 1846, and was designed to furnish to the *many*, an accessible and instructive record of one of the most interesting periods of our history. The rapid growth of popular instruction, though unaided by the government, 'has created,' as the author remarks, 'a new era in literature,' one of the effects of which is that '*class* literature, aspiring to be popular, but founded upon narrow conventionalities, is nearly at an end.' The work before us is one of the fruits of this improved order of things. It is intended for all, and promises to be well adapted to its end. Mr. Knight soon discovered, as we apprehended from the first, that he had undertaken



too much, and he therefore wisely resolved to suspend his labours for a time, and has somewhat modified his projected course. The work is now resumed in monthly shilling numbers, and will be completed in one volume of a thousand pages. We regard the publication with much interest, and shall take an early opportunity of noticing it at length. In the meantime, we recommend it to the hearty approval of our readers, as a work much needed, and which is constructed on an enlightened appreciation of the present wants of the public mind.

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*Essays on Human Rights, and their Political Guarantees.* By E. P. Hurlbut, with a Preface and Notes by George Combe. Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart, & Co.

A BOOK on human rights, from an American, is like a thief preaching against pickpockets. He comes before us with a practical lie in his mouth, unless his personal integrity be saved at the expense of that of his country. In the present instance we see nothing to form an exception, and therefore shrink from any analysis of Mr. Hurlbut's Essays.

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*Introductory Essay to Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.* By John Foster. Glasgow: William Collins.

IT would be superfluous to recommend this essay. Wherever known it is held in high and well deserved repute as one of the best and most useful productions of its author, and we are, therefore, glad to meet with it in a detached form and at a reasonable price. It is one of the best companions which our youths can have, and we strongly recommend it to them as such. We know no volume so fitted for usefulness amongst the class of intelligent and reflecting young men.

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*The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge.* 8vo. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight.

WE noticed the commencement of this work in our last number, and pointed out its distinctive features. We have, therefore, only now to record the appearance of the first volume, which is one of the cheapest and best of the many useful publications issued by Mr. Knight. Such a work is pre-eminently deserving of patronage, and will meet, we are assured, with enthusiastic reception from a large class of readers.

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*The Pictorial Bible.* By John Kitto, D.D. Part VI. London: Charles Knight.

THIS work continues to appear with regularity, and will go far to place, within the reach of all classes, the results of very extensive and multifarious research on all points pertaining to the geography, history, zoology, botany, ethnography, antiquities, and criticism of the sacred volume. We need scarcely say, that it has our most cordial approval. The heads of families can scarcely render a better service to their households, than to introduce it to their acquaintance and frequent perusal.

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*Patristic Evenings.* By John Birt, Author of 'A Summary of the Principles and History of Popery.' London: John Snow.

THE former work of Mr. Birt, on Popery, was the subject, as our readers are probably aware of a highly favourable review in this journal, from the pen of the late Robert Hall, who described it as 'distinguished for precision and comprehension of thought, energy of diction, and the most enlarged and enlightened principles of civil and religious freedom.' Such a testimony, from such a quarter, naturally raised expectations of a high order respecting the present volume. We do not think the author remarkably happy in his title, 'Patristic' (applied to these 'Evenings,' 'because there is in them much mention of FATHERS, both ecclesiastical and lay') being a word especially alarming to many innocent people, and withal, not more descriptive than some others, of the contents of this volume. The paragraphs, without names, real or feigned, are supposed to comprise the portions contributed by the several interlocutors to the conversations; 'and the topics vary quickly and widely, as is not uncommon to conversations in which more than two persons are engaged.' It is not possible to give a particular account of the matters discussed or referred to; anecdotes, history, criticism, religious and moral observations, being strung together without more order than usually obtains in common discourse. The first two 'evenings' are chiefly occupied with persons and things relating to popery and protestantism; and the last two are mainly devoted to the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is much various knowledge and many shrewd remarks presented in a form to fill many 'evenings' with instruction and interesting occupation. As a substitute for a portion of the popular literature of the day, this work will be found very valuable.

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*A New French Grammar, according to the Standard of the French Academy.* By Désiré Pontet. London: Houlston & Stoneman. 1847.

THE author tells us, in his preface, that 'during a professional career of upwards of twenty-eight years, both in Paris and in Great Britain,

he has repeatedly experienced the want of a plain and well-arranged grammar.' Any one who has taken the trouble of looking over the piles of grammars published either in France or in England, will agree with Mr. Pontet, that there is not a single one which is not decidedly bad. But our author is greatly mistaken in flattering himself that *his*, the result of twenty years laborious researches, will be found better, or more simple than any before the public. In our opinion it is almost the reverse of that. Though it contains 600 pages, it is a most incomplete grammar, on a bad plan, or, rather, on no plan at all; and the most complicated and worst arranged we ever saw. To young students it will be perfectly unintelligible, and the author seems to have intended it, not for them, but for their teachers. We think that French masters tolerably well acquainted with their own language do not require such a guide or assistant; and those who want it are unfit for their duty, and will not be improved by the false, blundering, and absurd denominations, definitions, distinctions, explanations, and rules, borrowed from the old *routine*. Grammar-making is also a speculation, which, like extract-making, picks the pockets of parents without any profit to their children. For our part, we have a very poor opinion of a French master who cannot dispense with them, or whose 'twenty years of laborious researches' produce no better results than this new grammar.

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*The Three Divine Sisters, Faith, Hope, and Charity; the Leaven, or a Directory to Heaven; A Crucifix; or, a Sermon upon the Passion, &c. &c.* By the Rev. Thomas Adams, Minister at Wellington, Bedfordshire. With an Introduction, by the Rev. W. H. Stowell, Independent College, Rotherham. London: Thomas Nelson. 1847.

THIS is one of Nelson's series of English Puritan Divines, intended to introduce a class of works less known than those which have already appeared, and itself less known, as the editor observes, than, perhaps, any of those which will be republished.

Mr. Thomas Adams, whose pieces appear in this volume, will be a new writer, though not a new name, to many. Very little is known about him—the extent of our information, or rather of our want of information, being thus truly described by the editor, 'Though not a Nonconformist, he was a *Puritan*. Though a churchman in the days of Laud, he was a Calvinist. Though unhonoured by the degrees of a university, he abounded in deep and varied learning. When he was born, or where, or how he died, we know not. He has left no diary, and found no biographer. There is no 'Old Mortality,' to explore his grave, and renew his epitaph. His only monument is in his works.'

His works, however, are a goodly monument. Good doctrinal matter, without stint; illustrations in every variety, grand, ingenious, puerile; raciness, quaintness, and pith, both of thought and expression—are the most striking features of his writings. We confess to a liking for them, above those of many of his day and class.

The pieces selected for publication are short—twelve being contained



in this volume. The introduction, by Mr. Stowell, which is of necessity mainly composed of extracts from Mr. Adam's works, is perspicuous, discriminating, and just.

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*Comprehensive Edition of Matthew Henry's Commentary. New Testament.* London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson.

HOWEVER highly Matthew Henry's Commentary has been estimated, its sterling excellence has fully deserved all that has been said and thought in its praise. More learned in fact than it appears, full of the illustrations of Scripture, which are afforded by Scripture, erring by the excess of its thoughts and topics, and apt in quotation, and pithy in phrase beyond all works of the like kind, its past popularity is only a pledge of that enduring acceptance with which it will meet from the large class of readers who combine solid intelligence with a spiritual temper, and a supreme regard to the practical things of life and godliness.

Mr. Nelson has done well in projecting an edition of this work which will be within the reach of all classes of the community. The new features of it are—a collection of Scripture references—various readings from the translations of the Scriptures, by Wycliffe, Tyndale, Coverdale, &c.—Notes on the Manners and Customs of the East, &c.—Notes on the Natural History of the Bible, &c. &c. We have much satisfaction in commending the edition as a valuable, and well-executed one, to all who wish for a comprehensive, able, and practical, comment on the Word of God.

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*Nelson's British Library.*

THIS consists of Shilling volumes of interesting and instructive reading. They are neat, entertaining, and useful. The pieces included are of almost all kinds, of good aim and tendency, and well suited to engage the attention of many besides youthful readers.

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*The Buonaparte Letters and Despatches, Secret, Confidential, and Official; from the Originals in his Private Cabinet.* 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, 1846.

IF we are not mistaken, this is a translation of a work published in French, in the year 1819. Of the way in which it has been presented to the public we cannot speak without condemnation. The publishers ought to have had it carefully translated, and copiously edited by competent workmen, whose names would have guaranteed the fidelity of their workmanship. The history of the papers themselves collectively and separately, ought to have been given, and the authenticity of each and all placed beyond doubt. The Letters are preceded by an introduction, consisting of rhodomontade and rubbish. We submit to Messrs. Saunders and Otley, that they have ill consulted their interests by allowing their names to appear on the title-page of such a mis-shapen production.

## Literary Intelligence.

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